THE MARATHA RAJAS OF TANJORE

K.R. SUBRAMANIAN

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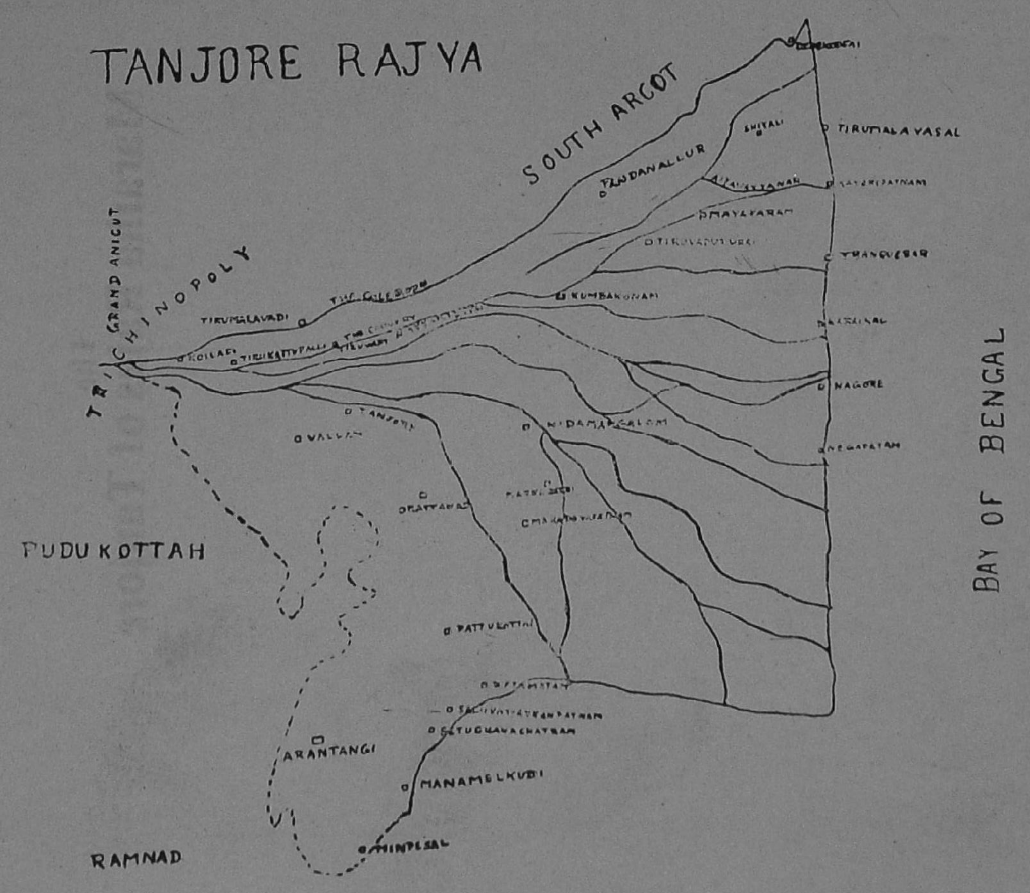
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SOUTH ARCOT
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MANAMELKUDI
KUMBAKONAM
TRANQUEBAR
NAGORE
TIRUMALAVASAL
BAY OF BENGAL

The
Maratha Rajas of Tanjore

K.R. SUBRAMANIAN

WITH A FOREWORD BY

P.T. SRINIVASA IYENGAR

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INTRODUCTION TO THE AES EDITION

In 1928 K. R. Subramanian first published this history of The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore, covering the period from 1675 to 1800. At that time he noted that William Hickey in an earlier study entitled The Tanjore Maratha Principality did not make much mention of the cultural activities of the period. This was indeed a serious omission, because Tanjore with her flowing rivers and fertile soil nurtured culture and radiated it to other parts of South India for centuries, though she lacked the military might to defend her independence, and again and again lost her autonomy.

In the sixty years since this book was published for the purpose of making the cultural wealth of Tanjore better known, some other good historical studies have been made, but they do not replace or dislocate Subramanian's work. For example, S. Seetha's Tanjore as a Seat of Music (Madras, 1981) goes deeply into one facet: the support of musical artists by the court and people of the region. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri's excellent A History of South India (Madras, 1976, 4th edition) provides a broad context for grasping relevant preceding developments, but, unfortunately, does not cover the Maratha rule.

The Nayaks of Tanjore by Sri Khandavelli Balendusekharam (Hyderabad, 1975) presents some pre-Maratha background and only briefly touches on Maratha highlights. Peeps into

Saraswati Mahal with a Short Account of the History of Thanjavur by S. Gopala (Tanjore, 1973) and *Saraswati Mahal: A Short History and Guide* (Tanjore, 1981) by R. Jayaraman are popular introductions but they are not very extensive.

Burton Stein in *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India* (Delhi, 1980) and in shorter works, has made in-depth studies of the Vijayanagar empire, but he has written little about Maratha times. His findings constitute a shift in historical perception, a re-visioning of the Vijayanagara period, based on previously ignored information. Something akin to what Stein and others, including Arjun Appadurai, have done for the re-evaluation of the Vijayanagar world, might be possible for a reassessment of Tanjore in the 17th to 19th centuries, if a fresh look were taken at the data of the Maratha realm. Much remains to be done in reconstructing the history of Tanjore at that time; much remains to be learned about that transitional period during which South India turned from late medieval to early moder

In any case, what K. R. Subramanian has done here is still very valuable. He has composed a substantial outline of the generations of Tanjore rule in Maratha times, giving us essential facts to help us better understand the period before and during the climactic times in which Tyagaraja, Syama Sastri and Muthuswami Dikshitar thrived. He has deepened our knowledge of this significant period during which the British arrived and gradually became entrenched in Indian soil.

Subramanian's bibliography is quite useful; the conclusions he reached are thought-

ful, and the concerns he pursued are still pertinent today. The last few chapters on the economy, the administration at the village level, and on charities and religious toleration provide insightful and accurate, detailed perspectives on a dynasty well worth exploring.

I am happy that Asian Educational Services has performed the service of making this "pioneer work in Tanjore history" available to a new generation of readers. Other reprints made available by AES also further our ability to study the period; for example, William Hickey's The Tanjore Maharatta, and volumes 7, 8 and 9 of History to India, edited by A.V. Williams Jackson.

Those of us who know and love Tanjore know that the great collection gathered at the Saraswati Mahal Library, the old inscriptions, Tanjore's temples and remnants of forts, chatrams and memorials, indeed, all the traces of the Maratha legacy still existing there, are tremendous resources. To wander among them is to conjure up thoughts of royal sponsors and unbroken generations of peasants growing the grain which fed both kings and singing saints. It is to contemplate the interplaying forces of tradition and change, spirituality and history.

I hope this reprint will help stimulate further studies of a period so rich and a region so intriguing.

Dr. William J. Jackson
Department of Religious Studies
Indiana University, Indianapolis USA

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FOREWORD

It is a truism of pedagogics that all teaching should proceed from the known to the unknown. This maxim is honoured only in the breach so far as the teaching of History in our schools is concerned. The pupils of the Tanjore district begin their study of Indian History with the story of remote Magadha and never hear of the town of Tanjore or of the glorious line of its rulers from the ancient Cholas to the recent Marathas. The reason of this unsatisfactory method of teaching is that no books have been composed on the history of the Chola mandalam by its sons, so wellknown today for their scholarship, intelligence and pushfulness but not patriotism.

In England, local histories, histories of each small shire into which that is land is subdivided, exist both on a small scale fit for school students and on a large scale fit for advanced scholars and investigators. Historians in India rest content with compiling digests and cram-books regarding the history of the whole of India and have not yet attempted to endow the teaching of Indian History with a sense of reality by writing books on local history. I am glad that Mr. K. R. Subramania Iyer has been so patriotic as to provide this history of his native district for the past two hundred years, when Maratha Rajas ruled over it and kept up the agelong Indian ideal of rulers who were scholars and patrons of scholars, and artists and patrons of artists first, and soldiers and statesmen next.

The book has cost the author much intensive research; he has had to study a great number of documents, some manuscript material and many out of the way books, to

produce this pioneer work in Tanjore history. There is not a village in the Tanjore district which does not possess memorials of the Maratha Rajas in the shape of temples or dead forts or living chathrams or local Charitable endowments or other relics of Maratha rule, such as descendants of scholars or artists patronised by them. You cannot get away from the memories of the culture or charity of Maratha rulers, even though you travel to the confines of the Tanjore Maratha realm. It is on these that the teaching of History in the Tanjore district should be based; and this book has been written so as to enable the intelligent teacher of history to lay well and truly the foundations of historical studies in the Tanjore district.

P. T. SRINIVASA IYENGAR.

PREFACE

It was half a century ago that Mr. Hickey wrote his *Tanjore Maratha principality*. It is a very meagre account and omits altogether the cultural activities of the Maratha period. In fact, there was a renaissance in arts and letters in the Tanjore country in the seventeenth and the earlier decades of the eighteenth centuries the full significance of which has not been grasped by students of South Indian history. So, no apology is needed for placing this work before the reading public, which deals in outline with the political and cultural history of the epoch 1675-1800 with the aid of all the available materials. The subject is a fascinating one to a native of the Tanjore district.

The long Marathi inscription in the Big temple at Tanjore has not been translated as yet. The author had the second and relevant half of it translated for him by a Marathi gentleman of Tanjore during his stay there. The author's thanks are due to him. The dates of the Rajas have been taken from the Inscription and converted into the Christian era with the aid of *the Indian Ephemeris.* Since only the Saka and cyclic years without the other particulars as to the month etc. are given in the inscription, it is difficult to arrive at the exact Christian years. For example, it is not easy to say if the rule of Ekoji the founder ended in 1683 or 1684 A. D.

The author notes with regret that in spite of careful scrutiny, some errors have crept in. They have been collected and corrected on a separate page at the end.

Lastly, the author is highly indebted to the veteran scholar Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar for his kind foreword.

K. R. SUBRAMANIAN.

THE MARATHA RAJAS OF TANJORE

CHAPTER I

A GENERAL SURVEY

For more than two centuries, the land south of the Tungabhadra was under one rule. The Vijayanagar empire was founded with the object of arresting the southern expansion of the Bahmani Sultans. With remarkable rapidity it spread its power throughout the length and breadth of the southern end of the Peninsula. The land bears to this day the marks of subjection in the many inscriptions of its conquerors and overlords from Kumara Kampana to Achyuta (1365-1542). The empire reached its zenith under Krishna Deva Raya. Three decades after the death of Krishna, the grand empire which had held the Muhammadans at bay succumbed to its united foes, and the greatest of the southern cities was utterly destroyed. The battle of Talikota (1565) rang the death-knell of Hindu independence which had fled to the south for a sanctuary. Save for a promising but fleeting spell of Nayaka and Maratha independence, South India was lost beyond recovery and the rule passed first to the Muslims and then to the English. Gingee, Tanjore, Madura and Mysore, the feudatories of the Vijayanagar Raj, became independent, but only to fall a prey soon to the Deccan Sultans and the great Mughals. Till 1676, however, the

The Vijayanagar empire

shadowy Vijayanagar emperor continued to exist, to be pitied and helped by Sivaji the great. But, none of his old tributaries who would have once deemed it a great privilege to carry his sandals was now so poor as to do him reverence.

Of the five Bahmani Sultans who made common cause against the Hindu empire, only Bijapur and Golkonda had enough vitality to expand southwards. Shahji Bhonsle, father of Sivaji and a Bijapur officer second in command to Rendullah Khan, made inroads into the decayed and dismembered Vijayanagar empire and took a part of Mysore (1638), Vellore and Gingee, apparently for his master but doubtless with the object of providing for his sons. Tirumala Nayaka of Madura helped Shahji in the capture of Vellore and Gingee, and thus found satisfaction in humiliating his Vijayanagar overlord. Weak and helpless, or helped only by the Nayak of Tanjore, the phantom emperor could not extinguish the spirit of independence in the Nayak of Madura or the Udaiyar of Mysore. The former, Tirumala (1623-1659), did not scruple to invite the Muslim against his master. The Udaiyar, expanding slowly and unnoticed, had the Muslim at his gate as a divine warning against disunion and selfishness.

Bijapur successor of Vijayanagar on the Coramandel

For treacherous intriguers there is only a change of masters, from King Log to King Stork. Shahji forced the Nayaks of Madura and Tanjore to pay tribute to Bijapur. In 1663, a Bijapur army went as far as Trichinopoly and levied blackmail. In recognition of his services, the Adil Shah gave Shahji the part of Mysore which he had conquered in his master's name. After the death of Shahji (1664), Venkaji or Ekoji his

son by his second wife succeeded to the Mysore *jaghir.* None of Shahji's sons was a coward or a weakling. In his own humble way, Venkaji by his valour and cunning added to his estates the principality of the Nayak of Tanjore (1676).

The rise and growth of the Maratha power is one of the wonderful chapters in the long history of India.

Mughal Conquest of South India

Founded by Sivaji the great, son of Shahji Bhonsle, the Maratha state was a sharp thorn in the side of the Deccan Sultans and the great Mughal. After the conquest of Bijapur and Golkonda (1687) the Mughal came into closer grips with the Maratha. Foiled in their home dominion, the Marathas changed their centre of resistance to Gingee, and under Rajaram and Tara Bai offered heroic resistance.

The long-drawn siege of Gingee ended (1698), and the aged Mughal lived to see his sandals respected in the sacred lands of the Kaveri and the Vaigai. During the course of the siege, Zulfikar Khan levied tribute from all parts of the Carnatic. Daud Khan succeeded Zulfikar as the Mughal *Faujdar* of the south and was more regular in his exactions from the newly won territories. Within two decades after the death of Aurangzeb (1707), the Deccan and Southern India became practically independent of distant Delhi. The Nizam became their real master with about 30 Nawabs and some Hindu Rajas under him, of whom the Nawab or *Faujdar* of the Carnatic was the biggest.

Sadatulla Khan was the first regular and acknowledged Nawab of the Carnatic (1710-1732). His adopted

The Carnatic Nawabs

son and successor was Dost Ali. There was no love lost between him and Nizam-ul-mulk, but the latter was engrossed in the

tangled politics of Delhi. Meanwhile Dost made the most of the situation. The Maratha of Tanjore, the Nayak of Madura, the Marava of Ramnad and the Udaiyar of Mysore rarely paid their tribute except at the point of the bayonet. Naturally desirous of providing for his family at their expense, the Nawab sent to the south his son Subder Ali and son-in-law Chanda Sahib on a mission of conquest. The kingdom of Madura under Minakshi was in its last gasps. By stratagem and treachery, Chanda displaced the lady (1736) and his brother conquered extensively the divided *Poligars* as far as Kerala.

Jealous of the increasing power of Chanda Sahib, the Nawab dismissed him from the *Diwanship*. Fearing the increase of Muṣsalman power after the annexation of Madura, the Hindu Rajas of Southern India sought Maratha help. The Marathas had revived under their first Peshwa Balaji Viswanath (1714–1720,) and were to bid for supremacy in Hindustan by the middle of the century. So this was a good opportunity for the expanding power to make itself felt by the Muslims of the south.

The Maratha army marched from victory to victory (1740). Dost Ali was defeated and killed. Chanda Sahib was taken captive and carried to be imprisoned at Satara. Trichinopoly successively the capital of Minakshi and Chanda received a third ruler in the course of four years. Murari Rao of Gooty, a notorious freebooter in days when his profession was lucrative, sat cheek by jowl with his fellow Maratha, Pratap Singh of Tanjore with an army of 14,000 men. It was a great day in the Maratha annals. If the Marathas of Tanjore and Trichinopoly had co-operated heartily and kept up their relationship with Satara, the heart and centre of Maratha vigor and activity, they could have played a

significant part in South Indian history. But that was not to be.

Nawab Subder Ali was assasinated (1742). His son succeeded him. Now the Nizam free from danger from Delhi went to Arcot, appointed a new Nawab and took Trichinopoly from the Marathas. The new Nawab was poisoned soon after installation. So the Nizam appointed Anwaruddin to take his place (1744).

Meanwhile, Fate was spinning new threads and weaving a new web to entrap unawares the jealous rulers of this land, and usher in the modern era by bringing it under the British Raj. The death of Anwaruddin (1749), the rivalry of Muhammad Ali and Chanda Sahib, a similar disputed succession to the Nizamat (1748), the interference of the French and the English on behalf of the rivals, the success of Muhammad Ali and the English in the Carnatic—are all very familiar as the first lesson in modern Indian history.

Muhammad Ali was a puppet Nawab. He owed his throne to the help of the English company of merchants.

Bartolomeo on Europeans in India

Thanks to the insight and diplomacy of Clive and Wellesley, the Carnatic became English territory. The Europeans who came to India merely to trade entered into Native politics by the logic of events and lust for dominion. And of them, the English were destined by Providence to build a mighty empire from the Himalayas to Ramesvar. The following words of Bartolomeo who visited India between 1776 and 1789 give the clue to European politics in India in the eighteenth century. "The Europeans first get a footing there (India) as merchants; imperceptibly endeavour to extend their power; are no longer satisfied with the advantages of trade, and begin gradually to oppose their own private

interest to the interest of those princes who have admitted them into their dominions. In a little time they find means to involve them in a war; sometimes they give them assistance, in order that they may afterwards make them pay for it; and sometimes they incite one prince against another or endeavour to create confusion in their political relations, in a word, they never rest till they get possession of the land which is the object of their ambition".

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9. Copies of Papers relative to the restoration of the King of Tanjore, Vol. 3 P 56—See Pratap Singh's letter of 1762, about the Nawabs (Connemara library, Madras).
10. Bartolomeo, A voyage to the East Indies P 49-50.

CHAPTER II

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MARATHA RULE IN TANJORE

The Kaveri delta has been the seat of a glorious civilisation from the dim past. Blessed by nature with a fertile soil,[1] the people cultivated arts and letters to a high degree of excellence. Having been far from the Muhammadan zone for long, they preserved their old culture and arts. But, for a small state like Tanjore to maintain its independence, placed as it was with a number of jealous neighbours all round, neither intelligence nor artistic skill could be of any avail. The soil and the climate made the people and kings lovers of ease. Of higher patriotism, the people had little as the central Government was not theirs. So the state lacked the necessary physical force for the maintenance of its freedom.

The root cause for our failure

The military defect was the patent cause for its decline and annexation. Even if the last Maratha Raja had had a big army and been of heroic mould, the cause of independence would not have been served, though another Leonidas might have been handed down to posterity. As the last of the Cholas quailed before the surging wave of Vijayanagar expansion, so the last of the Marathas would have submitted to the inevitable. His resources were small and he had little scope of getting allies. Above all, he had to contend against certain modern ideals of state organisation, however much the English in India at that time fell short of them.

[1] Anandarangam Pillai: Diary Vol. 6, p. 314-315.

In 1800, the last Maratha ruler of Tanjore resigned his administration to the English in return for a decent pension. In 1676, the first Maratha ruler of Tanjore took the principality of the Nayak Rajas who had ruled it for above 125 years. From the time of Kumara Kampana son of Bukka Raya and conqueror of the south up to the reign of Achyuta brother of Krishna Deva Raya, the Tanjore country was under governors appointed from time to time. Thus Madanna was the Chola governor under Deva Raya II. (ac. 1424). Vira Narasimha the governor under Krishna rebelled against the emperor in collusion with the central general Nagama who usurped the Pandyan throne. After punishing the rebels, Achyuta appointed Viswanatha, whose loyalty overcame his filial love for Nagama, as viceroy of all South. Then, a portion of his viceroyalty, the Tanjore country, was sliced off and given to Sevappa the first Nayak ruler of Tanjore who had married the sister-in-law of the late emperor (1544).

Tanjore under Vijayanagar.

One admirable trait in the Nayaks of Tanjore was their devotion to their overlord, which was absent in the other feudatories. After the battle of Talikota, Tanjore was loyal to Venkata the viceroy of Chandragiri. When Venkata became emperor (1586), Raghunatha, heir apparent and grandson of Sevappa, fought like a lion under his master's banner against the troublesome Madura Nayak. When he became ruler (1614), he welcomed the surviving son of the emperor, Sriranga II to Tanjore, fought hard for him against a conspriacy of feudatories and placed him on his ancestral throne. His loyalty was always the ground of ill-feeling between him and the Nayak of

The Tanjore Nayaks. Their relations with their neighbours.

Madura. Now, the Madura Nayak joined Gingee, Solaga and the Portuguese, the enemies of Raghunatha, and cut off the Kaveri dam on which has depended the prosperity of Tanjore from the age of Karikala. Undaunted by the alliance, Raghunatha marched against them and routed them at Toppur near the Grand Anicut.

With the flight of Sriranga to Bednore in 1646 A.D. ends in fact the history of Vijayanagar. The emperor went to put down the rebellious Gingee Nayak in 1640. Tirumala Nayak of Madura invited the Sultan of Golkonda against his overlord who fled at the approach of the Muhammadan army. Victorious Golkonda had evil designs against Gingee, and so the short-sighted Tirumala invited the Sultan of Bijapur against his brother Sultan. Bijapur did no better. Shahji Bhonsle an officer of the Sultan took Gingee, and levied tribute from Tanjore and Madura.

The last of the Tanjore Nayaks.

Vijayaraghava son of Raghunatha submitted to the Sultan and paid him tribute. His neighbour Chokkanatha ot Madura fought two wars with Vijayaraghava. The first was occasioned by an alliance between Tanjore, Gingee and the *Dalavoy* of Madura (1664). The second was a momentous one full of fateful consequences to both parties (1673). The immediate cause for the rupture is said to have been the refusal to give a Tanjore princess in marriage to Chokka. The real cause was traditional enmity between the neighbours.

Vijayaraghava intensely absorbed in *puja* till the enemy was at the gate presents a strange and tragic figure. Vallam was captured and Tanjore besieged. (1673). Manucci speaks of disaffection in the generals and troops of the Tanjore Raja who was deserted by the bulk of them. For, Vijaya had ravished the wives

and daughters of his officers, and 700 wives and 15,300 concubines adorned or crowded the harem of this pious king.[1] As the story goes, Vijayaraghava released his son Mannaru a gifted and romantic prince from captivity, and with sword in hand they rushed into the battle, fought valiantly and reached the heaven of heroes. Before going to battle, they had the *Zenana* blown up lest Chokka should obtain a Tanjore princess. A gruesome spectacle!

The triumphant Nayak of Madura, glad at the downfall of the long loyal Tanjore House, made haste to appoint his foster brother Alagiri as governor and returned to his capital. No sooner had he established himself in power, Alagiri with characteristic ingratitude asserted his independence.

Before the *Zenana* was blown up, the queen of Vijayaraghava had managed to send away her young son through a nurse beyond the zone of danger. The heir to the throne was safely conveyed to Negapatam where he was brought up in the house of a *Chetti*. *Rayasam* Venkanna, a *Neogi* Telugu Brahman, the secretary of Vijayaraghava and then of Alagiri, conceived the plan of restoring the youth to his ancestral throne in the place of his master who would not allow him a free hand in the administration. Swearing vengeance against the insolent Alagiri, the Brahman went with Chengamaladas, the rescued son of Vijayaraghava, to the Sultan of Bijapur the overlord of the south and solicited his aid in the just cause of the youthful prince.

The Adil Shah ordered Venkaji, son of Shahji Bhonsle and lord of Bangalore *jaghir* to render the necessary help

[1] But all available testimony points to his great piety. See Tanjavuri Vari Charitra. Taylor's Mackenzie mss, Catalogue of, III P. 176.

for the restoration of Chengamaladas after the expulsion of Alagiri Nayaka. *Bosalavamsavali*[1] a manuscript in Sanskrit of the reign of Sarabhoji says that Venkaji *alias* Ekoji captured Arni, then fought with the Nayak of Trichinopoly, released Tanjore from his yoke and halted at Tirumalapadi near Tiruvadi where God appeared to him in a dream and told him not to leave for home. Meanwhile, there were quarrels among the people of Tanjore and a section of them went to the Maratha and requested him to take the throne. So did Ekoji. Wilks assigns a different cause for the usurpation of the Maratha who was not paid his expenses by Chengamaladas.[2]

Rayasam Venkanna

Alagiri's importunities to Chokka for help fell on deaf ears. So at Ayyampet, Venkaji won a crushing victory after which he took the capital with great effort. A Telugu manuscript narrates "the victory (?) won on the four ramparts of the Tanjore fort by Peddalagiri, a ruling chief of Tanjore over the son of Shahji who attacked it to regain it as one of his father's possessions.[3] Chengamaladas was crowned. As he did not win the crown, he could not retain it. As it usually happens in courts, the old nurse of the new king, his foster-father the *Chetti* and *Rayasam* Venkanna had a keen rivalry for supremacy in the state. The crafty *Neogi*, worsted by the simple rule

[1] In the Tanjore Palace library, written by Venkatakavi son of Raghavarya.

[2] See Historical Sketches of the south of India Vol. I, P 91-2. Wilks is useful for an account of Shahji and Venkaji. See also Account of the Maratha Rajas of Tanjore (Taylor's Mack. mss III, P 441) which assigns the same cause.

[3] A triennial catalogue of the Madras oriental lib 1910-11 to 1912-13 Part 3, No. 126. A Jesuit letter confirms Alagiri's resistance (P 279 Nayaks of Madura) while Tanj. Vari-char. refers to his flight.

of majority, vowed vengeance again and floated such rumours of the Maratha's designs against Tanjore that the last of the Nayaks fled for life. Venkanna was an accomplished diplomat. He prepared the people also for the change. He carried on clever intrigues with Ekoji whose naturally high ambition kindled anew was only restrained by his discretion not to alienate his master the Sultan of Bijapur.[1] The Sultan died and Ekoji throwing his conscience to the winds entered Tanjore in triumph without firing a single shot. It is probable that from the first the Maratha had the evil design of conquering Tanjore for himself, which was strengthened by the weakness of its prince, the quarrels among his advisers and the divisions among his people. Venkanna was a typical busybody gifted with the greatest cunning. Unscrupulous and ungrateful, his nature was such that he could not live without some excitement. In his own way he was a king-maker. His new master knew him too well, but allowed him ample power at first. Having deserted two masters he would have easily made Ekoji the third. Suspecting the King's designs against him the wily *Rayasam* escaped with his life in time.

The legacies of Nayak rule

Thus the Nayaks lost their throne, and another foreign dynasty, speaking another new language, established itself in the Tamil land. Aliens though they were, they made Tanjore their home, and continued the traditional policy of protection of the subjects and patronage of religion, arts and letters. There had been an exuberant growth

[1] The story of the fall of the Nayaks is taken from Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra. Dr. S. K. Iyengar: Sources P 319-27. But history does not confirm the story at this point. For, the Adil Shah died in 1673 A.D. See Oxford History of India by Mr. V. A. Smith P 297.

of the Sanskrit and Telugu literatures during the Nayak rule. Govinda Dikshita, minister of Achyuta the second Nayak, regent for some time and then minister of Raghunatha, was a sound scholar and friend of the famous Appayya Dikshita. His son Yajnanarayana wrote *Sahitya Ratnakara* which deals with the work of Ragunatha. The kings themselves were accomplished men. Govinda's *Sahitya Sudha* states that Raghunatha was a musician, a sound Sanskrit and Telugu scholar and author of half a dozen books. A great warrior, he replaced the king of Jaffna on his ancestral throne after suppressing the opposition of the Portuguese. Very pious and charitable, he divided whatever money could he spared between the gods and the poor. He knew eight languages, and Maduravani and Ramabhadrambha two rare poetesses adorned his court and enriched literature. Professed Vaishnavas though they were, the Nayaks endowed Saiva temples also. Raghunatha patronised two Madhwa *gurus* Sudhindra and Raghavendra. They built choultries for the poor and made gifts to pious and learned Brahmans. These were the traditions to which the Marathas succeeded. How far they lived up to these traditions will be seen in the sequel. The age of Appayya and Nilakanta had a fitting finish in the age of Krishnananda and Ramabhadra[1].

Meanwhile, the Nayaks did not forget the temporal interests of the state. The constant wars kept them on the alert. They entertained foreign traders like the Danes and the Dutch partly with a view to get the help of their artillery in war time. Vijayaraghava improved the fort

[1] For the contemporaries of Appayya and Nilakanta, see Mr. T. S. Kuppusami Sastri's learned introd. to the latter's *Siva Lilarnava*, Vani Vilas Press.

in his capital and built new forts at Pattukkottai, Arantangi, Kilanelli, Tiruppattur and other places. But he was inferior to his father in military talent. Besides, a state where there is no responsibility for the people, where the people do not identify themselves with the state but are indifferent as to whoever rules, cannot be expected to make a firm and successful stand against a foreign conqueror. The people had become inured to foreign rule and could not see any difference between a Chola, a Nayaka and a Maratha. Politics and rule were not their concern. Foreign rule did not, however, result in the demoralisation of the people or economic exploitation. Also, tho disarming of the conquered by the conqueror was a device unknown in those days. Dynasties came and went, but the people went on for ever.

The future

Mighty forces were working outside which were to engulf soon, whether they liked it or not, the small states, too small to stand alone and too jealous to work together. Sivaji's expedition (1676-1677) was only a passing thunder. The Mughal roller brought under it the whole of India at least for a while. A more perfect military and administrative machine was still to come which would reduce all states to a common level, subject all peoples to a common law, drag India with a pull from the age of comparative stagnation, disorganisation and degeneracy into the modern age of vigorous commercial and political life.

Additional authorities

1. Tanjore district gazetteer P. 35-53.
2. Tanjore district manual Part V, Ch. 3.
3. Madura district manual Part III, Ch. 8.

4. Mr. Sathyanadhan: The Nayaks of Madura, Introd. Ch. 1, and 10-14.
5. Rev. Heras: The Aravidu dynasty ch. 8,13,17 & 19.
6. Manucci 1653-1708: Storio Do Mogor Vol. 3, p. 103.
7. Mr. T. S. Kuppusami Sastri: Nayaks of Tanjore.
8. Dr. S. K. Iyengar: Sources of Vijayanagar History. p. 252-327.
9. MER 1924, p. 119; and, MER 1925, p. 92.

CHAPTER III

VENKAJI OR EKOJI THE FOUNDER 1676-1683

The Marathi inscription in the Tanjore temple dates the capture of Tanjore by Ekoji in January 1676 (*Saka* 1596, *Rakshasa, Maghasudhi*).[1] He is said to have settled in the city in April 1676 (*Saka* 1597, *Anala, Chaitra*). There is little doubt about the authenicity of the information contained in the inscription, as it was gathered from all the available records at the order of Maharaja Sarabhoji II. But dates ranging between 1674 and 1676 have been given by historians for the beginning of the reign. There is no reliable authority for antedating the capture of Tanjore. The Madras Tamil manuscript[2] assigns five years to Ekoji from *Ananda* to *Kalayukthi* 1674-1679 But its dates are generally at variance with those given in the inscription. Again, *the Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula charitra*

Date

[1]. The inscription in the temple dated S 1725 has been published by Mr. Sambamurthi Rao B.A., B.L., Secretary to the Tanjore Palace Library. It contains the history of the Tanjore Marathas and is referred to in the course of this book as the Tanjore or Marathi inscription. The author had it read and translated by a Marathi gentleman.

[2] The ms. referred to is a Mackenzie ms. (Vol. 4, P. 27. Taylor's Mack-mss. restored). It is noticed in Taylors's catalogue Vol. III. Besides the *Tanjavuri Varicharitra* P. 176, the catalogue notices three relevant mss. The *Carnataka desa rajakal savistara charitra* is a long record of about 400 pages but contains only a little information on Sivaji's expedition, the Carnatic war and later events. (P 34). On P. 298 there is a notice of *the Tanjore Bhonsle kings* and on P. 441 of *An account of the Maratha rajas of Tanjore.* This ms. is referred to throughout as the Madras or Tamil ms.

speaks of the capture of Tanjore just after the death of the Bijapur Sultan, the overlord of Venkaji. By a reference to the genealogical list of the Adil Shahs, it can be seen that there was a new and young Sultan on the *gadi* in 1673 who continued to rule the country till its annexation by the Mughal. There is a grant of Ekoji dated 1676 A.D. confirming Vijiaravaghava's grant of Negapatam to the Dutch and it is likely that the Dutch got their rights confirmed as soon as he became ruler.[1]

The Marathi inscription dates Ekoji's death in *Saka* 1604, *Rudhirodhgari* (1683). 540 of 1918 a stone inscription of Ekoji is dated in *Saka* 1605 (S 1603 ?) *Dundubhi*, *Kali* 4784. (1682).[2] The commission of 1798 and Schwartz assign seven years to his reign, while Wilks records that Ekoji was alive in 1686-1687 when he negotiated for the sale of Bangalore with Chikka Deva Raya. The records of the East India Company mention a king Ekoji as late as 1699-1700 when he was at war with Mangammal.[3] From 1681, they mention Ekoji frequently. Thus, in 1681, "Eccogee was Naigue of Jangoa."[4] In 1682, Vallam is given to Ekoji by Mysore which captured Madura.[5] In 1685, the kingdom of Tanjore is referred to as 'Eccogee's country.'[6] In 1687, mention is made of a proposal to have a settlement at Tirumalavasal after making a treaty with 'Eccogee'.[7] In 1688, the French are said to have treated

[1] 893 h of Mr. Rangachari's Ins. of the Madras Pres. II, Tanj. Dt.

[2] The saka dates are from the Mar. Ins. unless otherwise indicated.

[3] Letters to Ft. st. George 1699-1700, VII, 31 July 1700.

[4] Ibid. 1681-2, 1, P40.

[5] Ibid. 1682, 8 Mar. 1681.

[6] Ibid. 1684-5, 6 Aug, 1685. Also Diary and consultation bk. 1685, P. 112.

[7] Rec. of Ft. St. George, Diary and consultation book. 1687 :—Page 138.

with Ekoji's son about a fort near Negapatam.[1] The English also proposed to treat with him.[2] In the same year, the King of Tanjore is called 'Eccogee' in three letters.[3] In 1690, the proposals of Ekoji to the English are referred to, and Rama Raja got great help from the King of Tanjore, with which he hoped to rout the Mughal.[4] Zulfikar Khan advanced on Ekoji's kingdom in 1691 and so, the Raja made peace with the Dutch.[5] Tanjore is mentioned as Ekoji's country in 1692.[6] Two years later, Zulfikar made an agreement with Ekoji, king of Tanjore.[7] Thus in the later records, there is an evident confusion between Ekoji and his eldest son Shahji. The former was so well known that his name continued to be used even after he had ceased to reign.

To add to this confusion, *Dharmakuta*,[8] a rare commentary on the Ramayana as a Dharmasastra written in Shahji's reign, says that Ekoji made the author Tryambaka Raya Makhi son of Gangadhara minister of Shahji after training him for the post. The suggestion that is hidden in the stanza is that Ekoji abdicated in favor of Shahji. The same fact of abdication is mentioned in Ayya Aval's *Sahendra Vilasa Kavya*.[9] We do not know how many years he lived after this event. He might have lived till 1687 as Wilks puts it. For a

[1] Rec. of Ft. St. Gecrge, Diary and consultation book, 1688 :—7 May,
[2] Do. 1688 :—17 May. [Page 77.
[3] Do. 1688 :—4, 19 and 25 June.
[4] Do. 1690 :—P. 2-3, 72 January and September, 1690.
[5] Do. 1691 :—26 August.
[6] Do. 1692 :—14 August.
[7] Do. 1694 :—Page 68, Manucci mentions Zulfikar's agreement with Shahji in 1694.

[8] Vani Vilas Press No. 24, P. 10.
[9] Ind. Ant. Vol. 33. P. 187.

letter of the Madura mission dated 1686 speaks of the *Kallars* and the *Maravars* making a war of brigandage against the troops of Ekoji.[1] In 1683 Ekoji was only 54. That Shahji was Maharaja in 1685 is proved by an inscription[2] in Pattukkottai dated *Saka* 1606, *Krodhana*, *Adi*. So he must have ascended the throne about 1684.

His good work for the ryots

Ekoji was one of the bold adventurers of the later Mughal period though he did not possess as much genius as his great brother. He had not only military talent but also some constructive capacity which was shown in the promotion of agriculture, according to the Madras manuscript. He repaired and constructed canals and tanks and reclaimed fallow lands. Some of the letters of the Madura mission translated in *The Nayaks of Madura*[3] reveal however the king's motives for so much solicitude. Villages had been destroyed by floods and the king was at his wits' end for money and more money. He extorted 4/5ths of the gross produce which placed the poor ryots in the grip of the *sowcars* and subjected them to torture and like punishments at the hands of the *amins*. To pay his great brother, he had to squeeze the last pie from his subjects.

Sivaji's expedition to the south

The most stirring event of his time was the expedition of Sivaji into the Carnatic (1676—1677) to claim his share of his father's *jaghir*. The main cause for the expedition was his ambition[4] to spread Maratha power in collaboration with his brother who tried to cut himself

[1] P. 292, Nayaks of Madura.
[2] MER 1925, P. 95.
[3] P. 289-291.
[4] The *car. desa Raja Savistara Charitra* a Mack. ms hints that his bject was to save Hinduism from the Muhammadans. P 369 Taylor's III.

adrift from the main artery of power and strength. Raghunath, minister of Venkaji, chafing under his master's control instigated Sivaji to lead this expedition for his share of the inheritance. The great Maratha made a treaty with Golkonda, took Gingee, advanced on Tanjore and sought an interview with his brother. His troops took the country north of the Coleroon including Vellore. The interview proving futile and, fearing a fresh Mughal army against him, Sivaji hastened back.

Sivaji's two letters.

On his return, Sivaji appointed Santoji, an illegitimate son of Shahji Bhonsle, governor of all the land between Gingee and the Coleroon. Santoji ably defended himself against Venkaji who invaded his dominion. The conduct of his brother filled Sivaji with shame. The latter deplored the spirit of discord that animated Venkaji which was a source of weakness to his grand plan. Now it was that he wrote the two historic letters to Venkaji and dictated a treaty for the better government of Tanjore which together with Gingee and the outlying parts had been made over to him by a treaty with Bijapur (1680). The first letter of 1678 dealt with the evils of disunion, while the second of 1680 exhorted Venkaji to be active and to perform worthy deeds instead of being melancholic. "I am to you as your head and protection . . . Look to the discipline of your army and turn your attention to affairs of moment. What a comfort and happiness it will be to me to hear the praise and fame of my younger brother. This is the time for performing great actions. Arouse! Bestir yourself."

The ruler of Tanjore had no other alternative but accept Sivaji's terms when Sultans more power-

ful than he had to abide by them. A large sum of money was paid at once and an annual tribute promised. Affer the death of Sivaji, the tribute was stopped and there was little relationship with the centre of Maratha power save for occasional mutual help and a few marriage alliances.

Tanjore under Sivaji

A great opportunity was thus lost for hegemony in South India and the display of constructive genins. Petty and jealous quarrels among the Maratha principalities of Gingee, Tanjore and Satara spoiled the chances of building up a Maratha empire in the south. The isolation of Tanjore which became marked after Shahji did no good to its ruler as he had to succumb, unaided, to the Muhammadan power, but did immense harm to the central power of which it failed to be a strong southern outpost. Want of union is writ large on the threshold of the eighteenth century history of India.

A Great opportunity lost.

The small state of Tanjore had many jealous neighbours who lost no opportunity for aggression. The new ruler had thus a tough task awaiting him. The people accustomed to foreign rule never murmured against the latest alien. But his neighbours would not give him peace. Chokkanatha of Madura allied himself with Santoji of Gingee against Venkaji, but failed to strike an opportune blow at Tanjore at the time when Venkaji retreated before Santoji. Chokka himself had trouble at home as a Muhammadan adventurer usurped his throne between 1678 and 1680. No sooner had he replaced himself than Mysore invaded Trichinopoly. Forgetting all past history, Venkaji helped Chokka and drove out the Mysore toops.

The Nayaks of Madura

This worthy deed is immortalised in a Telugu treatise on erotics named *Kamakalanidhi* [1].

The work is based on Sanskrit treatises on erotics. Its author was Nellur Sivarama Kavi son of Viraraghava Kavi. He dedicated the work to Jayasimha, grandson of Ekoji. The author praises the deeds of Sivaji and Venkaji in the usual style. " Sivaji conquered the Mughal and received the title of *Chatrapathi*. Venkaji defeated all the Kings south of the Narmada, and set free the Pandya from the yoke of Mysore."

Kamakala nidhi

Sanskrit and Telugu literatures had flourished splendidly under Nayaka patronage, and the new comer had only to keep up the tradition for an increase in their output. The Rajas' devotion to Brahmans led to the growth of Sanskrit and Telugu to the neglect of the indigenous language. Ekoji himself is said to have composed in Telugu a Dvipada *Ramayana*, and several other works in Telugu were written in his reign.

The chief of Ramnad was a vassal of the Nayak of Madura. The reign of Kilavan the Famous of Ramnad was a landmark in the history of the Setupathis. He was full of ambition and drive. A rebel himself, he would nip in the bud a similar spirit in his vassals. Fearing the adherence of his dependent of Pudukottai to the Raja of Tanjore, he effected a dynastic revolution by making his brother-in-law the *Tondaman*. His burning desire was to become independent of his master of Madura. So he treated with Venkaji for military help in return for all the lands between the Pambar and Pudukkottai. The war ended in Shahji's reign. Success attended the arms

Kilavan of Ramnad.

[1] Intoduction to A Triennial Catalogue of Telugu Mss in the Madras Or. Lib. 1916-17 to 1918-19, Vol 3, Part 3.

of the allies. Madura was defeated, Ramnad obtained freedom and Tanjore the promised territory.

There were plenty of these small wars in the history of the Tanjore Marathas. The eternal struggle for land and power went on as merrily in the eighteenth century as it did eighteen hundred years ago. Venkaji held his own against his neighbours and passed on his kingdom intact to his sons. He planned to add to his territory on one side and negotiated for the sale of Bangalore on the other finding it expensive and difficult to keep from such a distance. The latter transaction is a proof of the absence of any great design of empire-building. He became content like his predecessors to live at ease in the pool of Tanjore rather than risk himself in the wide ocean of fame and splendour. Devoid of pan-Maratha patriotism or ambition to make more conquests, Venkaji left no plans for fresh adventure and enterprise to spread the Maratha dominion, no schemes of union among the small powers for offence and defence to check the Mughal expansion. None of his successors except Shahji went beyond the limits set by the founder to extend the kingdom, increase its prestige and strengthen it on the military side.

An estimate of Venkaji

A few words about the queens and concubines of the Maratha Rajas will close this chapter. In a monarchical state, polygamy leads to disputed succession, interference of the relations of the queens and mistresses in public affairs, court intrigues, poisoning, and domestic anxiety and unhappiness which, in an age when there was no difference between the private and public capacities of the Rajas, sadly and seriously reflected on the progress of the state. In fact, however, the evils were not so great, as the ministers

Queens and Concubines

were practically in full power and as there was much of decentralisation in Government.

Venkaji had two wives and nine mistresses, and in all ten sons. Shahji had several mistresses. Sarabhoji I had three queens. Tukkoji had five wives and six concubines from various castes. Ekoji II had six wives and three mistresses. Pratap had five wives and seven mistresses from various castes. Tulja had five wives. Sarabhoji II had two wives and twenty-four concubines. Sivaji had twenty wives and a number of concubines[1] To the Rajas with their wealth and autocratic power, polygamy presented no economic problems. Nor was there any religious difficulty. The Sastras in fact sanction it. But, politically, it led to trouble and bad administration.

Many of the royal mistresses were accomplished ladies. They were noted not only for their beauty but also for their scholarship and skill in music and dancing. Mostly Telugu because of the Nayaka legacy, some of these ladies have left us a large and rich treasure of sweet *Padhyas* in that language which are widely sung even to-day in the Tamil and Telugu countries. None of them reached the height of excellence attained by the famous Rangaji, author of *Mannarudasa vilasamu* describing the amors of her paramour Vijayaraghava Nayaka.

Muddu Palani a mistress of Pratap Singh is the best known in the Maratha period. She composed an amatory poem *Radhikasant vanamu.*[2] She was also author of *Saptapadulu.*[3] Her gurú was Viraraghava Desika of Tirumala Tatacharya family.

1 The information is mostly taken from the inscription of Sarabhoji II

2 A Des. cat. of Telugu Mss. Vol. II, Part 2, 1927, Nos. 707, and, 708

3 R. No 221 (c) of Trien-cat. of Telugu Mss. Vol. II, Part 3.

Additional authorities.

1. The Report of the Tanjore Commission 1798.
2. Wilks: Sketches of South India 2 Vols.
3. Grant Duff: History of the Marathas Vol. 1 Ch. 9.
4. Sarkar: Sivaji Ch. 12.
5. Tatakhav and Keluskar: The life of Sivaji Maharaj Ch. 26.
6. M E R 1924, Page 119–122.
7. Exhibit No. B. 140 in Appeal Nos. 199 and 200 of 1919 in H. C. of Madras which gives a summary of the Mar. Ins.
8. Exhibit No. B. 141. Do. which gives a summary of the Madras Tamil mss.
9. Tanjore district manual part V, ch. 4
10. Madura district manual part III, ch. 9

CHAPTER IV

SHAHJI 1684-1712

According to the Marathi inscription, the three sons of Venkaji ruled jointly. *Dharmakuta* remarks about their mutual attachment. Sarabhoji lived at Sakkottai near Kumbakonam, and the youngest Tukkoji lived at Mahadevipatnam in Mannargudy *Subha*, after they came of age. Probably they were Viceroys of the two *Subahs*. Shahji died heirless in *Saka* 1633, *Nandana* (1712) at the age of forty. After him, Sarabhoji ruled jointly with Tukkoji till his death in *Saka* 1649, *Kilaka* (1728) at the age of fifty-three. There is an inscription[1] of *Saka* 1640 stating that the brothers reigned jointly. Tukkoji succeeded Sarabhoji as sole ruler in 1728 and ruled till his death in *Saka* 1657, *Anala* (1736) at the age of fifty-nine.

Joint rule

After the death of Sivaji the great, the fortunes of the Marathas were at a low ebb. The Deccan Sultans were conquered by the Mughal (1687) and Maratha power in the west was paralysed by his generals. The Marathi inscription records that Shahji was friendly to Bijapur, and the Madras manuscript speaks of the help rendered by Sarabhoji to the Bijapur nobles who fled for life from Aurangzeb.

Mughal siege of Gingee

The centre of Maratha opposition shifted to Gingee. Rajaram and Tara Bai his queen offered heroic resistance to the incursions of the Mughal whose degenerate soldiers and generals dragged on the siege. *Dharmakuta* speaks

[1]No. 1303, Rangachari: Ins. of the Madras Presid. II, Tanjore Dt.

of Shahji's help to his first cousin Rajaram against the Sultan of Delhi. Orme[1] also writes about Ekoji's help to the rebels. Also Ayya Aval's *Sahendra Vilasa Kavya.* (See Ind. Ant Vol. 33). *The Diary and consultation book of Ft. St. George* for 1690 records that "Eccogee sent horsemen and money to Ramaraja who hoped to rout the Moghul".[2] Again in 1693, Rama raja is said to have come from Tanjore towards Gingee with 20,000 horse.[3]

Overlordship passes from Sivaji to Aurangzeb

During the siege, the Mughal troops levied tribute from the neighbouring kingdoms. When Gingee fell in 1698 AD, the conquest of India by the Mughal was complete. From 1691, Tanjore was held from the Mughal and four lakhs was fixed as its tribute by Zulfikar Khan, the Mughal general in command. But the money was paid generally only at the point of the sword. *Letters from Ft. St. George* of 1693, 1694, 1698, and 1700-1 mention the march of the Mughal general to Tanjore to collect the tribute. In 1697, Zulfikar forced Shahji to return to Mangammal the Nayaki of Trichinopoly the lands he had taken from her. This is mentioned as a victory to the Nawab in the *Diary and consultation book* for 1697. Daud Khan succeeded Zulfikar as *Faujdar* of the Carnatic. He followed in the footsteps of his predecessor and visited Tanjore periodically for his dues. Thus, the Maratha of Tanjore shifted his allegiance from Bijapur to Sivaji and from Sivaji to the Mughal.

An inscription[4] at Pattukkottai boasts of the conquest of all lands between the Pambar and Puduk-

1 Historical fragments p. 300.
2 Page 72.
3 Page 74.
4 MER 1925, p 95.

Kilavan and Mangammal

kottai by Bavaji son of Gangadhara the agent or secretary of Maharaja Shahji, and mentions the erection of a fort there by the same official. But, as we have seen already, these lands were ceded by the Setupathi. *Dharmakuta* also mentions the help rendered by Shahji to the Marava against his overlord.

In 1700 there was war between Shahji and Mangammal on account of the capture of some of her towns by the former with the aid of the Setupathi. The woman ruler inflicted a defeat on her neighbour, but the minister of the latter Baloji (Bavaji ?) bribed the enemy and obtained peace.[1] Soon, Tanjore changed sides on account of a common danger to Tanjore and Trichinopoly from the *anicut* built across the Kaveri by Mysore, but luckily the dam gave way and war was averted. So, but for the common British allegiance, Tanjore and Trichinopoly would have drawn the sword against Mysore over the Kannambadi dam! The new alliance between the traditional enemies vexed Kilavan who against odds routed the troops of Mangammal and captured Shahji's fort of Arantangi (1709). Thus the triangular contest continued among these small powers, fortune favouring now one, now another, but left none of them better or wiser for all the events.

Shahji's work

Though Shahji came to the throne at the early age of 12, the administration was carried on with great ability and success. He was precocious and brilliant. He had his father's trained ministers to advise him. The Madras manuscript points to the continuation of the old order and servants, and records plentiful crops during the reign. The commission of 1798 remarks about the obedience of the subjects in

[1] Lockman: Travels of the Jesuits vol. 2, p. 285, 301.

spite of the increased land-tax. According to Hickey, Shahji improved the fort at Tanjore, built choultries and hospitals for which he secured foreign physicians from Arabia and established civil and criminal courts. A record of the English East India Company mentions 14,000 horse and foot as besieging Tranquebar in 1699.[1] So the king was not unmindful of the army, the mainspring of his rule and greatness.

Patronage of letters

From no other Maratha reign have we such a rich crop of literature. Himself a scholar and linguist, he patronised learning. In the absence of the printing press and a reading public, it was the right and the duty of the leisured and wealthy Rajas and nobles to appreciate and encourage by gifts literary productions of merit. Learning was generally wedded to poverty, and the devotees of the Goddess of Learning wooed her capricious sister for keeping the flame of life unextinguished.

There are some Tamil dramas (*Koothu*) in manuscript in the Tanjore library which belong to this reign. *Bhulokadevendra Vilasam*, *Athirupavathi kalyanam*, *Sankaranarayana kalyanam*, *Chandrikahasa vilasa natakam*, *Koravanji*, *Vishnu saharaja vilasam* all in Tamil are not of a high order either in plot, humor, or style and contain a few vulgar passages. In all probability they were enacted in the court. The language is colloquial generally as spoken by a Maratha. The usual plot is that some princess falls in love with Sahendra or Shahji and secures him at last. The king is described in them as a linguist and conqueror. Besides these, there are a few stray pieces praising Ekoji, Shahji and Sarabhoji which are all the remnants of a presumably

[1]Diary and consult bk, 1699 Ft. st. George p. 18.

large volume of literature[1]. But the quality of the litera ture is not high.

There are also some Telugu works from this reign which are again said to be on a lower level than the works of the Nayaka period. Till recently, the rulers had been Telugu hence the prominence of Telugu poets even in the Maratha Court. *Saharaja Vilasa nataka* credits Shahji with the defeat of the Muhammadans, capture of Madura and conquest of all countries on the way to Benares with the aid of his brothers. The last is mere rhodomontade, and, unlike Karikala's or the Red Chera's expedition, was perhaps a mere pilgrimage, if at all there is any truth in the statement. *Vishnu Saharaja Vilasam* is a tamil *koothu* in Telugu script. By this time, there was a mixture of about five languages in the court.

Sanskrit works of a high order were produced in large numbers during the age 1676-1736. *Dharmakuta* has been repeatedly mentioned before It praises Shahji as great in all respects. A new interpretation is given to *Ramayana* by the author Tryambaka Raya Makhi. Ekoji brought him up and installed him as the *Mantri* of his son Shahji. Tryambaka, Narasimha, and Bhaghavantaraya were the sons of Ganghadhara Makhi, the *Mantri* of Ekoji. The eldest Narasimharaya Makhi, author of *Tripura Vijaya champu*, was also minister of Ekoji. Tryambaka continued as minister under Sarabhoji, the successor of Shahji. With the help of Shahji, Tryambaka performed a *yajna* on a

[1] Tanjore lib. cat. of tamil mss. Vol. 2
No. 1003 *Ganapathi thothram* of Ekoji's reign
Vol. 1—No. 280—*Thyagaraja Kuravanji* of Shahjis reign.
No. 345—*Tanjainayagam Pillai vannam* „
No. 347—*Veeraghava Mudaliar vannam* „
No. 489—Chokka's *Kumbakona Purana* „
No. 165—*Narayanasathakam* containing two stanzas in praise Of Sarabhoji I.

grand scale in 1698 which is evidenced by the *Acharanavaneeta*[1] of Anandaraya Makhi, the son of Narasimha Raya Makhi. Tryambaka also wrote on *Stridharma*. Bhagavantaraya the youngest son of Gangaji was author of *Raghavabhyudhaya Nataka*, *Mukundavilasa Kavya* and *Uttara Champu*.

Natesa Vijayam [2] was composed by Venkata Krishna Dikshitar who also adorned the court of Shahji as a poet. In 1693, the king renamed Tiruvasanallur Sahajirajapuram and made a gift of the village to fortysix pandits of his court of whom this author was one. This village was the seat of scholarship in languages, literature, philosophy and medicine throughout the Maratha period and some of the most distinguished men were Telugus. Venkata Krishna wrote in addition *Sri Ramachandrodaya kavya*[3], *Uttara Champu* and *Kusalava vijaya nataka*. He was an ornament of the courts of Trichinopoly and Gingee besides Tanjore.

A few words must be said about the other members of the noble band of forty six scholars[4]. Ramabhadra Dikshit was the greatest of the elect. His was a gigantic intellect. Pupil of Nilakanta Dikshit who won laurels at Tirumala Nayak's court, Balakrishna Bhaghavatpada the Vedantin and Chokkanatha Dikshit a sound scholar and later his father-in-law, Ramabhadra easily became an adept in all the *darsanas*, a favorite of the Muse and a master of Grammar. In fact he was known as

1 Appa Dikshitar of Gauri Mayura wrote it and passed it in the name of his patron Anandaraya. *Madanabushana bhana* and *Gouri Mayura champu* were the other works of Appa.

2 Vani Vilas series No. 21.

3 Catalogue of Skt mss Vol 20. It is in telugu script.

4 See Mr. T.S. Kuppusami Sastri's learned article in Ind. Antiq. Vol. 33, P12) 176.

modern Patanjali. He wrote a number of works[1] of which may be mentioned *Janaki parinaya*, *Sringa ratilakabhana*, a commentary on *Paribhasavritti*, and *Shaddarsana siddhanta sangraha*. A native of Kandaramanikkam near Kumbakonam, the nursery of scholars in those days, Ramabhadra became the centre of a school of literati which has left an indelible impression on the history of Sanskrit literature.

Bhaskara Dikshit, author of *Ratnatulika* a commentary on *Siddhanta Siddhanjana* a work on Vedanta, Veda Kavi who wrote *Vidya Parinayam*[2] and *Jivananda*[3] and attributed them to his patron Anandaraya Makhi, Mahadeva kavi of *Adhbutadarpana nataka*[4] and *Sukasandesa*, Sridhara Venkatesa *alias* Ayya Aval whose name is still current coin and who enjoys a just reputation for his lyrics, Periyappa Kavi praised to the skies by nine poets of Shahji's court for his *Sringara manjari Shahajiyam*—these are some other luminaries who enjoyed the royal bounty at Tiruvasanallur.

The last mentioned work[5] is a drama written to be enacted in a festival at Tiruvaiyar. It is said to be based on the life history of Shahji, but, is, as a matter of fact, one of the many stories in which Shahji falls violently in love with a beauty. The drama contains vivid and picturesque descriptions of the beauty of the heroine and the love sickness of the royal hero which causes uneasiness to the *Mantri*, *Senapathi*, *Dharmadhikari*, *Purohit* and even the Jester. Periyappa belonged to a family of scholars and enjoyed a high reputation at the courts of the day.

1 Numbers 10, 12, 13, 44, 51 of the Kavyamala series are his works.
2 No. 39 Kavyamala series.
3 No. 27 Ibid
4 No. 55 Ibid ?
5 A Trien Cat of mss Vol 2, part 1, C (Skt)

Ramarajyabhisheka nataka,[1] *Valliparinaya* staged in a festival in his village, and *Parvatistotra* of Viraraghava of Tiruvasanallur belong to this reign. Also, another play *Subhadraparinaya*[2] by Nallakavi of Kandaramanikkam enacted in a festival in Madhyarjuna. Besides these plays, the work of compilation of rituals, etc. was also done at the instance of the king. One such work already mentioned is *Acharanavaneeta*[3] a digest of the Dharmasastra on the funeral and *sraddha* ceremonies by Appa Dikshit of Gauri Mayura. He prepared the compendium at the request of King Shahji. The King himself is said to have composed some works. An *Ashtapadhi*[4] attributed to him is to be sung to music. It seems he was a good judge of scholarship and was the Bhoja of eighteenth century Tanjore.

Philosophy

The significance of the great literary and philosophical revival in Tanjore under the aegis of the Nayaka and Maratha rulers in the age 1550—1750 has not been fully grasped and appreciated. Politically dependent, Tanjore held intellectual hegemony over South India. In an otherwise arid and uninteresting history this sphere serves as an oasis offering permanent delight to the seeker of truth.

We may infer from *Advaita Kirtana*[5] a manuscript in Tamil that Shahji became a yogi at the end of his life. From Sivaji to Ekoji, from Ekoji to Shahji, you find this feature in prominence—a sort of *virakthi* or unworldliness amidst worldliness. The influence of the Maratha saints was not lost on the Bhonsle kings. Shahji's sister

1 A Des. Cat. of mss. in the Madras Or. Lib. Vol. 21 (Skt.)
2 A trien. Cat. of mss. in the Madras Or. Lib. Vol. 1, part 1, C (Skt.)
3 A Des. Cat. of mss. Vol. 5, (Skt.)
4 See Burnell's catalogue of Tanj. Lib.
5 Tanj. Lib Tamil mss. I, No 631.

was a yogini according to *Bosalavamsavali* [1] a Sanskrit manuscript of Shahji's reign. *Advaita Kirtana* mentions Parabrahmananda Yogi and his desciple Purnabrahmananda to whom Shahji was very much devoted. The latter, Purnabrahamananda was Appa Sastri [2] of Kandaramanikkam, author of *Prayaschitta dipika* and *Upagranthadipa.* Krishnananda Sarasvati was the author of *Siddhanta Siddhanjana* [3] a treatise on Vedanta which maintains the Advaita doctrines. His disciple was Ramananda, probably the author of *Tripuro upanishad Bhasyam.* The *Guru* of Krishnananda was Bhaskara Dikshit [4] of Shahji's reign. The teacher wrote a commentary on the work of his great pupil. About half a century later lived Sadasiva Brahmendra, a *Mahatma* who has expounded the Brahmasutras in his *Brahmatatva Prakasika.* [5] Similarly you hear of a succession of *yatis* well-versed in Advaita philosophy who have been assisting the successive Sankaracharyas of Kumbakonam in their god-given task of spreading light and dispelling darkness. Thus a fresh impetus was given to the study and discussion of philosophy after the age of Appayya the famous author of 104 works. [6] The Maratha Rajas had great devotion to the Advaita Acharyas and have done much to perpetuate their memory.

A contrast

It is a sad contrast to find comparatively little of Tamil literature during the Maratha period, the literature of the bulk of the people. There was a revival of Sanskrit and Telugu but not of

1 A ms. in the Tanj. Lib.
2 See Mr. T.S Kuppusamisastri's learned article: *ante*
3 Nos. 47, 48, 58 and 61 Triv. Skt series.
4 See ante. His *Unmatha Raghavam* is No. 17 in Kavyamala series.
5 No. 7 Triv. Skt. Series.
6 M E R 1912, p. 89.

Tamil. The new dynasty continued the Nayaka legacy and cared as little for Tamil as its predecessor. But Tamil continued to be patronised by the *mutts.* Many of the works of the period are *Sthalapuranas*, digests, commentaries on Saiva and Vaishnava sacred literatures and a few *Natakas* of inferior quality. The missionary influence though it quickened the life of the popular tongue did not result in a rich and varied crop as during Buddhist and Jain days.

Even from this comparatively barren period, we have such precious gems as Thayumanavar of Vedaranyam (1700) whose psalms cannot be sung without emotion and ecstasy, and Arunachalakavirayar (1750) of Shiyali whose name is a household word in the district on account of his great works. Sound scholars like Vaidyanatha Desikar (1680) of Tiruvarur and Swaminatha Desikar, and the versatile *Tambiran* of Tiruvaduthurai, Sivagnana Swamigal (1785) are imperishable names in the history of Tamil literature.[1] *Milalai Sathakam*[2] of Sarkara Pulavar who mentions Pratap as the ruler brings us into touch with another family of Tamil scholars.

Marathi works also have come down to us from this period. Translations, panegyrics and a few original works constitute the legacy in this field. The Deccan was the chief source for the supply of Marathi literature to Tanjore.

Manucci says that the king of Tanjore was against Christians, levied a heavy poll-tax on them, persecuted them and exhorted his neighbours also to treat them

[1] See Mr. Purnalingam Pillai: A primer of Tamil literature and Mr. Chengalvaroya Pillai: History of Tamil prose literature which dates the authors and is very valuable.

[2] A Trien. Cat. of Tamil mss. Vol. 2, 1913-14 to 1915-16.

likewise.[1] But Mangammal was very tolerant. Like Schwartz of a later day, Manucci also roundly abuses the king's ministers for their bigotry and anti-Christian zeal. The king's Council consisted of Brahmans and so the king was led on to persecution.[2] Daud Khan, *Faujdar,* wrote to Shahji not to persecute the Christians.

Religious Persecution

The fact of the matter was, the Christians created class hatred among the king's subjects. The Portuguese missionaries put on Indian dress and called themselves Roman Brahmans to delude the unwary. At Pondicherry two houses were built for Christians in a Brahman street and the missionaries preached near Hindu temples. At Cuddalore the Christians enacted a drama in which the Hindu Gods were treated in an unenviable, manner. This was enacted in Tanjore before the king. These incidents which happened outside the kingdom of Tanjore roused the people and the king. Hence perhaps, an occasional lapse into intolerance. Cenerally, the kings of Tanjore were very tolerant and did not interfere with the religion of the Danes and the Dutch. Only when these traders failed to pay their dues, the Raja had recourse to coercion.[3] Christians grew in number and their religion, always a strong bond, drew them nearer to the foreign traders than to their king and fellow subjects.

[1] Ante Vol. 3, p 357.
[2] Cf. Lockman : Travels of jesuits Vol. 1, p. 421.
[3] Cf. Diary and consultation book, Ft. St. George 1699 for the Raja's expedition against the Danes.

CHAPTER V

SARABHOJI I (1712-1728) AND TUKKOJI (1728-1736)

Interference in Ramnad

Sarabhoji and his brother Tukkoji continued the glorious traditions bequeathed to them by their great brother Shahji in foreign as well as domestic politics. The Marava state was thrown into confusion by the war of succession that broke out on the death of Vijaya Raghunatha, the adopted son of Kilavan (1720). The two candidates were Bhavani Sankar, an illegitimate son of Kilavan and Tanda Teva. Tanjore espoused the cause of Bhavani Sankar and succeeded in placing him on the throne. As the ungrateful prince did not cede the promised land north of the Pambar to Tanjore, the latter helped another pretender, defeated all the forces sent against him and settled the Marava Kingdom. The conquered land was divided into three parts, one was taken by Tanjore, while the other two were constituted into the present Ramnad and Sivaganga Zamins. Thus the Maratha of Tanjore was responsible for the creation of Sivaganga. He successfully fought against Madura in the war, reduced Ramnad and revealed the decline of Madura. It was on account of the decline of the latter that Sarabhoji was able to intervene so successfully in Ramnad politics. Apparently, the Brahman minister of literary fame, *Dalavoy* Anandarayar Sahib called *Peshwa* who served the three brothers successively led the Tanjore forces aganist Madura and Pudukkottai on behalf

of Bhavani Sankar in the succession war in Ramnad.[1] In the reign of Shahji, he was *Dharmadhikari* according to a Sanskrit drama.[2] In the reign of Sarabhoji, he was *Dalavoy*, and *Subedar* Rago Pandit *Dewan*.[3]

Advaita Kirtana, a Tamil manuscript in the Tanjore library speaks of a breach in the Kaveri dam and the refusal of the Madura Nayak to allow its repair. Drought and famine followed, and then the necessary repairs were permitted and carried out. There is a Sanskrit manuscript in the same place named *Sarabhoji Charitra* which praises the king for fighting with those that came to cut off the Kaveri dam. The reference here has to be traced to an incident in the succession war. It is worthy of note that the cutting of the Kaveri dam was considered as great a calamity as the construction of it by Karikala had been held a monumental benefit by early Tamil poets.

The Kaveri dam

Tradition represents Sarabhoji as pious and charitable His *Dharmadhikari*[4] is said to have given Brahmans

[1] M.E.R. 1913, p. 130

[2] See ante. p. 32.

[3] M.E.R. 1911, p. 93.

[4] He is also credited by tradition with the digging of a canal called after him Aiyavayyanaru. The project was an ingenious one to irrigate some of the coastal villages of Shiyali Taluk which did not get an adequate supply of Kaveri water. He afterwards became *Sirkele* (=Chamberlain, domestic minister) and *Dewan* and enjoyed great influence in the Court. When a son was born to his master and king, Aiya presented the baby with a cradle and chains of gold. The king, for reasons best known to himself, put this officer in prison with a small quantity of rice and salt for rations. The poor Brahman pulled out his tongue and died in the gaol uttering imprecations that the big bell in the temple of his family God at Tiruvenkadu should fall down never to be tied again and that the northern wall of the *prakara* in the same fane should collapse never to be repaired again. Strange to say, the big bell is not in its proper place even to-day and a portion of the northern wall is always

Some current traditions

agraharas like Mangamatam in Tiruvenkadu and Sarabhojirajapuram in Tirukkadaiyur. He was also a generous patron of letters. *Vidyaparinaya*[1] written in the reign by Vedakavi in the name of Anandaraya

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in a state of disrepair There is also a varying tradition that he escaped imprisonment and was retired by his kind sovereign. On the way back to his village, he died at Tiruvenkadu.

There is a Mackenzie Ms. (III, P III) in Tamil in the Madras Oriental mss. library named History of Kaveripatnam. After speaking of ancient times, the author speaks of an Aiyavyyan of the place who within the previous 100 years, discovered large treasures in the village which were utilised partly for temple repairs at Tiruvenkadu and like charities and partly to fill the coffers of the state. The King in order to covet a goodly portion of the wealth gave him a high position in the state. The author adds that in Amar Singh's time unsuccessful efforts were made to dig some hidden treasures in the village by the royal officers who heard the above story. But he does not speak of the tragic end of Aiya. The manuscript must have been written before 1838 A. D. and was most probably written in or about Amar Singh's reign.

A Mackenzie ms.

There is a stone inscription 175 of 1925 in Sembanarkoil temple dated *kali* 4821, *Sarvari* in the reign of Sarabhoji I which mentions the officer *Subha* Ayyavayyan of Kaveripatnam and *Havil* Thandavaraya Mudali in connection with the agreement made by the villagers to pay additional taxes *eg* a tax on looms, *uripadi* (so much for every *urai* or 60 *kalams*) *sammadam* and *ayam* for the sake of protection.

Inscriptional evidence

No other reliable evidence has come to light concerning this local celebrity. Hickey says that Sarabhoji improved the revenues of the state, but by what means it is not stated. Anandarangam Pillai writes in 1738 of an Aiya, a protege of Rangoji Pandit, who is one of the household of the new Raja of Tanjore, and of attempts made to put Rangoji to death. But nothing more is known about this Aiya. One Rago Pandit has been mentioned already as Dewan of Sarabhoji, and it cannot be said if he was the same as the Rangoji of Mr. Pillai. However, a Rango panditar is mentioned in 422 of 1928 (1737 A.D.)

Other evidence

[1] A Des. Cat. of mss. in the oriental lib. Vol. 21.

was enacted in the festival of the Goddess Anandavalli at Tanjore. Its plot is the marriage of the individual soul with *Vidya*. *Sarabharaja Vilasa* and *Ratimanmatha* were written by Jagannatha son of a minister of Ekoji.[1] *Sivabharata* [2] a Sanskrit manuscript dealing with the ancestry and achievements of the great Sivaji and his forefathers is considered an important contribution to the biographical literature of the hero. There is also a Tamil version of it, probably from this reign, called *Sivajicharitram*.[3]

A bogus son

Sarabhoji married in the Satara family. He had no issue. The Marathi inscription says that his second queen pretended pregnancy, and it was given out after the usual ten months that she was delivered of a male child. This bogus son was named Savai Shahji. The baby was in fact born to Kuppi or Rupi a washer-woman of Tanjore fort. Tukkoji informed his brother of his suspicions about the baby who was then set aside or killed by royal command. There is another version that the Raja killed the child and put away his second queen. The child is called Suckoji in another version. Katturaja, a later pretender to the Tanjore throne called himself this Suckoji or Savai Shahji who, he gave out, had been rescued from execution and brought up in the forest.

Sarabhoji died in 1728. One of his queens performed Sati. While the Tanjore Marathi inscription assigns Tukkoji eight years of rule, the Madras Tamil manuscript cuts down the term by two years. Tukkoji was a great linguist. He introduced Hindustani music in his king-

[1] Hultsch's Report on Skt. mss. Vol. 3.
[2] In the Tanjore Library. This is an earlier work.
[3] Ibid. No. 630, Vol. 1 of cat. of Tamil mss. in the Tanj. Lib.

dom and wrote *Sanghita Saramrita*[1] in which he shows his musical talent and taste. His *Grihamatya* or domestic minister (=Sirkele) Ghanasyama Pandita wrote a commentary on the *Uttararamacharitra* of Bhavabhuti.[2] It was about this time that there lived in Tanjore a voluminous Sanskrit writer and collector of a good library named Manambhatta.[3] Ghanasyama also was a voluminous writer. He says he wrote sixty-four works. His wives Sundari and Kamala composed a commentary on a Sanskrit drama.

Ramnad and Trichy

The Raja concluded the war with Ramnad so successfully waged by his brother Sarabhoji, and brought about the settlement described in the previous reign. *Advaita Kirtana* refers to this and says that Bhavani Sankar solicited Tukkoji's aid in his war for succession, and that he was helped to the throne by the Raja.

The Madras manuscript and the Marathi inscription record Tukkoji's help to Minakshi of Trichinopoly against the *Poligars* who rose in revolt against her, and his own work on music credits him with the expulsion of the Muhammadans from, and the conquest of Madura. As such accounts have to be taken withthe proverbial grain of salt, we may explain them as meaning that Tukkoji helped Minakshi against the first expedition of Chanda Sahib (1734) who had to be finally bought off. In 1736, Chanda Sahib established himself in Trichinopoly more by strategem and treachery than by open warfare. The extinction of the neighbouring Hindu dynasty of Madura Nayaks was a great blow to the

[1] A ms. in the Tanjore Lib.
[2] A trien-.cat. of mss. Vol. 2, Part I, C. (Skt.). Hultsch—Rep. on Skt. Mss. No. 3.
[3] M. E. R. 1899.

Marathas of Tanjore. One more Hindu state was absorbed by the Muslim and, hemmed in by Muslim States on either side, Tanjore had to eke out a miserable existence. At a time when the state required a king of vision and valor, Tanjore was a prey to the factions and intrigues of pretenders to the throne.

The people were very discontented with Tukkoji's rule towards its end on account of the domination of a Chetty minister who gave evil counsel.[1] The problem of succession became all absorbing after Tukkoji. His legitimate son and heir was Ekoji, 40 years old on his accession to the throne. According to another version,[2] he had another legitimate son Saiyaji. Besides the two, he had three sons born of Naidu concubines, two of whom predeceased him. Pratap Singh was born to a sword wife of Tukkoji named Annapurna. He was the last of the famous and popular Tanjore Rajas.

The period, 1736-1739, was a dark one of disputed successions, pretenders and anarchy in the annals of the Tanjore Marathas.

[1] The Madras mss.
[2] See Tanjore district manual.

CHAPTER VI

THE PERIOD OF ANARCHY 1736-1739

Both the Tanjore inscription and the Madras manuscript assign only one year to Ekoji or Baba Sahib, the son of Tukkoji. He is said to have been very suspicious of designs against him. Saiyid the *khilledar* of the fort who had come in the train of Venkaji became very powerful and played the part of king-maker for four years. It is obvious that Ekoji succumbed to one of the conspiracies so rife during this period. He was 41 when he died. In spite of illness, he fought hard against Chanda Sahib who attacked Tanjore on his way to Trichinopoly and made him retreat (1736). The Madras manuscript says that the treasury was empty, and the king appointed a set of new ministers who could not cope with the work.

Ekoji II
1736-37

Ekoji was succeeded by his queen Sujana Bai. She ruled for about two years according to the Marathi inscription from *S.* 1658 *Pingala* when Ekoji died to S 1660 *Kalayukuthi* when Katturaja entered the fort as king. The Madras manuscript assigns her three years of rule. A pretender rose (1738) taking advantage of the rule of a woman swayed by evil and tyrannical favorities and ministers Siddoji, Tulaji, Tukkaji and Subba Chetty.[1] The advisers brought a good deal of odium on the queen. Saiyid the *khilledar* was the most powerful person in the state and did as he pleased, having the forces of the state under his control. Shahuji[2] or Kattu Raja the

Sujan Bai
1737-38

[1] The Madras mss.

[2] The name is variouly spelt Shahuji, Shahji, Shahgy, Shahjee. The Marathi Ins. calls him Savai Shahji and Kattu Raja.

pretended son of Sarabhoji I superseded Sujana Bai for a while.

When he was driven out, he approached the French for help in return for the cession of Karikal. Meanwhile, Saiyid imprisoned Sujana and impaled her favorite Siddoji and his two brothers before the gate of Tanjore.

Shahuji returned in 1738 and ruled for about a year In February 1739, Chanda Sahib forced the Raja to cede Karikal to the French and in April, the Raja confirmed the grant. About July 1738, Shahuji must have returned as he then prevented the French from landing at Karikal and thus brought on Tanjore the invasion of Chanda Sahib. Though the Raja gave away Karikal to the French whom the shrewd Muslim befriended, his fate was sealed in a few months. For he was the son of Kuppi or Rupi a washerwoman of the fort. The Marathi inscription says that he obtained help from the Dutch at Negapatam and the English at Ft. St. David under specious promises. But no sooner was his identity as Kuppi's son discovered than he was deposed. In [1]739 the Dutch of Negapatam wrote home as follows. "Chanda imprisoned Shagy Maharaj in Tanjore under a pretext that he was not of royal blood. Pratap was placed on the throne against his own will. Having gone to the prison and expressing his unwillingness to ascend the throne to Shagy's prejudice, Pratap was answered by Shagy, "If you do not accept the government, both of us lose our heads, if, on the other hand, we continue alive, we may watch the course of events. Hence ascend the throne." So Savai Shahji or Shahuji the Kattu Raja was succeeded by Pratap Singh in 1739. The Tanjore

Kattu Raja 1738-9

[1]Press list of ancient Dut. Records 1657-1825 No. 282.

inscription gives the same date for Pratap's accession S. 1660, *Siddharthi* (1739 A.D.).

There has been a good deal of confusion about this period. Orme wrote that Pratap and his predecessor Shahji were the sons of Sarabhoji while both were the sons of Tukkoji according to Grant Duff. Both are of course incorrect. It is now beyond doubt that Pratap was the son of Tukkoji by a sword wife Annapurna. That Shahji was the pretended son of Sarabhoji and that there was no Saiyaji a legitimate son of Tukkoji will be proved in the sequel.

Was there a Saiyaji?

The mere absence of a Saiyaji in the Marathi inscription[1] or the Madras manuscript does not validate the contention that there was no such person. For the inscription written at the order of Sarabhoji II, grandson of Pratap a sword wife's son, cannot be expected to mention the second legitimate son of Tukkoji who had better claims than Pratap. But there is no sound proof for the existence of a second legitimate son to Tukkoji. He is a mere figment of the imagination of the authors of the manual and gazetteer of Tanjore.

The Dutch record quoted above and a memoir of the Dutch governor of Negapatam in 1739 quoted by Mr. Dodwell conclusively establish that Shahuji was succeeded by Pratap Singh. The latter source adds that Shahuji ousted Sujan Bai. Anandarangam's Diary and Mr. Malleson's *French Power* assign 1738-9 to Shahuji. From the latter book we understand that Shahuji who was driven out of Tanjore offered Karikal in 1738 to the French, and that soon after, he was enthroned again, when he prevented the French landing at Karikal. The story is continued of the same king by Anandarangam

[1] There is no Saiyaji in Pratap's Ins. of S. 1680 and 1681. MER 921, p. 114-5.

till February 1739. The Dutch record quoted above finishes the story. So, the same person superseded Sujana for a while at first, and then permanently. He was Shahuji or Katturaja the son of Kuppi and the bogus son of Sarabhoji. The difficulty is not overcome entirely till it is established that the predecessor of Pratap was not a legitimate heir to the throne. There is some apparent difficulty in that the Dutch record above, the French record of Pillai of 1746 and the English account of his claims of 1749 speak unanimously that *he* was the legal heir and not Pratap Singh. The hesitation of Pratap mentioned by the Dutch, the Marathi inscription and the Madras manuscript was more due to the confused state of affairs. The Dutch had placed their money on the wrong horse and the letter only tries to cover it up. The Diarist records what Shahuji's envoy stated, that his master was the legitimate heir as the son of *Sarabhoji* and that Sahu also espoused his cause. This statement does not prove the candidate's legitimacy any more than the advocacy of his cause by the English in 1749. For, curiously enough a French record [1] states "you (the English) thought proper to bring from the dead the former king of Tanjore and made it your business to pull down the reigning prince and place a phantom..." So there is no reason to suppose that Tukkoji had a legitimate son Saiyaji who ruled for a year before Pratap's accession.

Additional authorities

Anandarangam Diary: I, Ch. 4, 13; IV, p. 350 fn. by Dodwell.

Malleson: The rise of the French power in India Ch. 3.

1. Records of Ft. St. George, Fr. correspondence 1750 P. 20.

CHAPTER VII

PRATAP SINGH 1739-1763.

Pratap was the last of the great Rajas of Tanjore. Next to Venkaji, Shahji and Sarabhoji his name stands prominent. In his later days, when the English and Muhammad Ali had established themselves firmly in the Carnatic, he did not enjoy such a high position as before when his help was solicited by the English and French and their rival candidates. But Chanda Sahib's repeated attacks on Tanjore had already alienated the Raja's sympathies. Muhammad Ali is said to have stated to Pratap after the siege of Trichinopoly, "It is due to you I am alive. To fulfil my vow on my father's death, surrender to me Chanda Sahib."[1] Clive and the young East India Company used to address Pratap as 'His Majesty' and treated him as an independent king.

Character

Though he was unwilling to ascend the throne according to all accounts, the principal men of the k ngdom persuaded him to do so in the interests of the state. As the inscription says, he was good, intelligent, handsome and brave. To win the love of the people and make his position stronger, he allowed more *kudivaram* to the ryots. His spirit of tolerence and love for his subjects can be best illustrated by the mosque that he built at Nagore and endowed with fifteen villages.[2] He had a keen insight into the character of the men around

[1]The Marathi Ins.

[2]Mr. Rangachari's Ins. in the Madras Presid. Tanj. Dt. No. 893 A and B.

him. He held in leash the terrible *khilledar* whose caprice and tyranny had brought Tanjore to the verge of ruin, and when it was opportune, he had him put to death. Monoji was a famous general from the time of the siege of Devikottai and Pratap reaped the full benefit of his genius. Selfwilled and impetuous, he at times acted contrary to his master's directions. He was pro-English in his sympathies and correct in estimating the trend of events. The secretary and general of Pratap had serious rivals in Gadi Rao and Suckoji at whose instance he was dismissed twice and even imprisoned once. But he alone could save his country from the ravages of Murari Rao and on other critical occasions. The celebrated *Dabir* Pandit, an expert in revenue matters, was another of the great men in his court. He continued to serve the son of Pratap except for a short period and did much good to the state. He and Pratap welcomed to Kumbakonam the Sankaracharya of *Kamakoti Pita* from Udaiyarpalaiyam whither the latter had shifted from Kanchi on account of the increasing Muhammadan influences in that city.

Monoji and *Dabir*

Saiyid again attempted to create trouble for the king by raising a pretender to the throne, but failed. When Pratap found him intriguing with Chanda Sahib, he ordered his death. Koyaji Kattigai a Maratha noble of Tanjore was an enemy of Pratap[1] and intrigued with Chanda Sahib[2] and the foreign traders [3] on behalf of Shahuji. As early as 1740, Shahuji was working against Pratap Singh.[4]

Saiyid

[1]Ft. St. George Rec. country corresp. 1748, p. 19, 83
[2]Ibid 1740, p. 43.
[3]The same Koyaji is mentioned with Katturaja in the Mar. Ins. and the Diary of Aandarangam.
[4]Ft. St. George, country corresp. 1740, p. 13.

Saiyid was found playing the old game. He seems to have even entertained the idea of usurping the throne for his daughter. If he had been allowed to live, Tanjore might have been absorbed by the Muslim. He was a ruthless Mussalman, whimsical and self-willed in the extreme. A great lover of power, he could set up and depose Kings at will on account of the army he had under his control. For four years he was the *de facto* ruler. As a Muslim, his sympathies were with the Nawab and his son-in-law Chanda Sahib. The Madras manuscript narrates pathetically that, during the period of his dominance, charities were held in abeyance and temples and *Yajnas* neglected. *Mahishasataka* composed by Vancheswara alias *Kuttikavi* (1741) regrets that the great days of Nanaji, Shahji, Sarabhoji, and Ananda Rao had passed away.[1]

Invasions of the Marathas and the Nizam

In a letter to the Directors[2] in 1776, the Nawab recalls the history of Tanjore just before the accession of Pratap and proceeds to narrate the latter's dealings with the Nawab. When Dost Ali was *Subedar* of the Carnatic, Pratap was disobedient and consequently pensioned and displaced by a Muhammadan deputy. The Raja got back the crown as Dost Ali was slain by the Marathas in 1740. Then the Nizam sent an army to Tanjore to fix the tribute which the Raja paid only at the point of the sword. Three expeditions of Nawab Anwaruddin to collect the tribute are on record which reveal the military strength of the principality.

The above account is accurate. Dost Ali was slain by the Marathas invited by the Hindu Rajas of the south

1 Hultsch—Rep. on Sanskrit mss. No. 3.

2 Papers relating to the restoration, Vol. I. (see also Vol. 3, The Nawab's letter of 1761 and Pratap's of 1762.

who were afraid of complete annihilation.[1] Orme writes that the Nizam encouraged them against the Nawab. But the Nawab's son jealous of Chanda Sahib was responsible for the Maratha invasion.[2] An army of about 10,000 troops was sent by Sahu of Satara under Raghuji and Fateh Singh who killed the Nawab, captured and gave Trichy to Murari Rao a Maratha free booter and Chief of Gooty and carried away Chanda Sahib as prisoner to Satara. Pratap Singh refused the offer of Trichinopoly by the generals and did not heartily co-operate with Raghuji who had the ambitious design of conquering South India, for fear that he himself might be made a dependent on the Maratha of Satara. This selfish policy of the Tanjore Raja was mutually harmful. There was not much of friendship between Murari and Pratap as the former attacked Tanjore and had to be repelled by Monoji. Next came the army of the Nizam (1742) which took Trichinopoly from Murari, gave it to Anwaruddin and forced Tanjore to agree to a tribute. Pratap's vacillating and pusillanimous policy has thus to be accounted for only by the complicated situation in which things might take any turn as between the Nizam and the Nawab and the Marathas and the foreign traders. But the situation did not clear up till almost the end of the reign when it was too late to take up a bold line of his own.

Six years after expulsion, Shahuji sent an envoy to Pondicherry for help against the 'usurper' Pratap. Failing there, he went to Ft. St. David[3] in 1749 with

[1] Ft. St. George, Country Corresp. 1740, p. 9. Chanda weakened and deposed Shahuji who invited the Marathas.

[2] Do Do p. 12

[3] Ft. St. George, Country Correspondence 1749, April, p 14. Koyaji Kattigai was the leader of Shahuji's party.

The Succession war with the English

the same object. For seven years the Madras Government had recognised Pratap as king of Tanjore. In 1747 Pratap and the English had planned to take Karikal jointly.[1] But the importunities of the pretender and his offer of Devikottai together with the expenses of the war were too much to be rejected. Devikottai was at the mouth of the Coleroon and the key to Tanjore from the north and the sea. It had an admirable situation. where the ships of those days could safely anchor. Wood and grain were available in plenty near the place. So the English company found the offer too tempting.[2]

This was the first interference of the English in Indian politics and began under very favourable auspices. For the policy begun now was so fruitful to the English and fateful to the Indians in its consequences. Two expeditions were sent against Pratap who had only recently helped the Company against the French. The fort of Devikottai was about a mile in circumference with walls 18 feet high. It was heroically defended by the Tanjoreans. The governor of the

Events

fort replied to the English. "He was upwards of 40 years of age and had lived hitherto without reproach and as he had 5000 men in the place resolutely determined to defend it to the last, he never would sully the small remains of life by surrendering a place he thought impregnable."[3] The first expedition of the English was a failure. The fort could

[1] Ft. St. George, Country Corresp. 1748, p 19[illegible]

[2] The Marathi inscription does not speak of succession in this connection.

[3] Papers relating to the Res. of the Raja of Tanjore Vol. 3, (Appendix Vol. 1), P 33.

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not be captured. The island was [1]however taken in the second expedition in which Lawrence and Clive distinguished themselves. General Monoji fought gallantly and the island was defended well. But peace was accelerated by the clouds gathering over the Carnatic. The English Company agreed to a treaty with Pratap Singh, instead of pushing their success and placing their candidate on the throne. The English got Devikottai and their candidate a pension. This was the first successful military attempt to get land. English diplomacy which was to play so great a part in Anglo-Indian wars was initiated in the Pratap-Shahuji war. The Raja of Tanjore had no longer any fear from pretenders. But he as well as his son had no love for foreigners and levied tolls on them when they entered the kingdom[1].

The Carnatic war

No sooner was he free from the succession war than the Carnatic war between Muhammad Ali and Chanda Sahib broke out. In fact the end of the former was hastened by an intelligent anticipation of the latter. The release of Chanda Sahib, the pest of Tanjore between 1736 and 1739, his alliance with the French and Muzaffar Jung, the death of Anwaruddin and the rivalry for the Nawabi made Pratap Singh and Monoji sue for peace with the English. Tanjore was in a sad predicament after the war broke out as it was near Trichinopoly the scene of action. It was hard pressed by both for help and sure to be harassed by the party it did not support. The Marathi inscription says that Muhammad Ali fled for refuge from Negapatam to Tanjore on his way to Trichinopoly and was treated as the guest of the Raja for three months. Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jung halted at Tanjore on their way to Trichinopoly (Dec.

[1]Ft. St. George country Correspondence 1748, P 24.

1749), besieged the fort, exacted the offer of a large sum as arrears to the Mughal, and obtained a grant of 81 villages for their allies the French near Karikal. Defended by two forts the lesser of which was stronger, Tanjore did not easily succumb to the besiegers whose precious time was further wasted by prolonged and futile negotiations by the cunning Raja who was eagerly awaiting the arrival of Nasir Jang. The advent of the latter into the Carnatic led to the flight of Chanda Sahib and his suzerain to Pondicherry with a portion of the tribute unrealised.

There are letters of friendship which passed between Pratap Singh and the English in 1750.[1] But with the bitter experience of the recent attack on Tanjore, the Raja kept neutral at first. When Muhammad Ali closely besieged by his enemies in Trichinopoly obtained help from Nanja Raja regent of Mysore and Murari Rao of Gooty, Pratap Singh was emboldened to throw in his lot with them (1752). With about 5000 horse and 30,000 foot,[2] the Raja was no small factor in the chaotic politics of the Carnatic. He sent Monoji with 3000 horse and 2000 foot to the help of the besieged. The event that decided the turn of fortune took place in Arcot under the leadership of Captain Clive. Trichinopoly was taken by Muhammad Ali on account of the joint efforts of the allies. Monoji helped in the capture of the fort and took Coiladdy from the French according to the direction of Lawrence. Tanjore was a source of supplies to the English throughout the war. At the instigation of Muhammad Ali, Monoji treacherously beheaded Chanda Sahib who had surrendered to him. In recognition of his services, the

Pratap's part in the war

1Rec. of Ft St. George, country corresp, 1751, p 2 and 8.

2Letters of Anwaruddin 1745 mention this fact.

Raja was given Coiladdy and Yelangadu and remission of arrears of tribute for 10 years.

Nanja Raja was promised Trichinopoly in return for his help, but deceived by Muhammad Ali. So he and his coadjutor Murari Rao went to the side of the French. Dupliex used threats and bribery to bring round Pratap Singh to his side. But the great French Governor succeeded only for a while. Afterwards, the Raja returned to his allies for which he had to pay heavily in the raid of Murari and the destruction of the Coiladdy *Calingula*. The defeat of Gadi Rao, the Tanjore general, led to the recall of Monoji who had just been dismissed due to the influence of the French. Murari was made to leave Tanjore by the victories of Manoji and the hard cash that was paid by the Nawab. "The King of Tanjore acts as justly as Eastern Politics allow" is the verdict of an English despatch[1] on the part of Pratap in the war. But it has been established that he never had any love for Chanda Sahib and the French and that he played a helpful part in the prologue to the drama of the British Empire in India.

In 1757 the English Company wrote to Pratap that the French intended to set up a pretender for his throne.

The seven years' war

Pratap replied that 25 pretenders had been set up till then and he was not afraid of one more. In 1758 Lally marched to Tanjore from Karikal to cash the Tanjore bond to Chanda Sahib for fifty-six lakhs exacted in 1749, but got little plunder at Nagore and was foiled in his attempt by Monoji. The appearance of an English fleet off Karikal made Lally retreat without delay from Tanjore. The Tanjore troops helped by a small English con-

[1] Mr. Dodwell: The Madras despatches 1744-55, p. 248.

tingent harassed the French who returned starved and diminished in numbers. The French power was finally crushed in 1761 in the siege of Pondicherry. The Raja sent 600 horses to the English in the Seven years' war and supplied troops and provisions for the siege of Pondicherry. He was so friendly to them that he once wrote that Tanjore was likewise theirs.

The Company had already addressed the Raja of Tanjore as his Majesty,[1] and in 1762 the Governor wrote to the Nawab that Pratap was a sovereign prince.[2] Inspite of all this show of friendship and regard, and all the services of Pratap Singh in the late wars, Tanjore was treated badly by the Nawab and his friend and ally, the English Company. The kingdom was an eyesore to Muhammad Ali whose avarice could not stop short of its annexation. The Company which wrote to the Directors in 1762[3] that a war with Tanjore would make the other native powers join it, did not scruple to countenance Muhammad Ali's claims against His Majesty the King of Tanjore. But, thanks to the Madras Government, Tanjore was not annexed to the Nawabi much to the discontent of Muhammad Ali. Through the mediation of the Madras Government, the Raja paid twenty-two lakhs as arrears and a fixed annual tribute of four lakhs. The Raja got back Coiladdy and Yelangadu from the Nawab. The Company was to guarantee the fulfilment of the treaty. Thereafter, the tribute was regularly exacted and Tanjore fell from the practically independent and semi-independent positions it had held successively. Even if

Pratap treated badly by the Nawab

1Ft. St. George, Country Corresp. 1748, p. 7 and 29. 1751, p. 53
2Papers relating to the Restoration of the Raja of Tanj. vol. 3.
3Papers relating to the Rest. Raja of Tanjore. Vol 3.

it had helped the French and Chanda Sahib, its position would not have been better.

Tanjore and Ramnad

The traditional enmity with Ramnad continued on the Arantangi frontier. The lands that were lost by Tukkoji towards the end of his reign were won back by Monoji aided actively by the *Tondaman* of Pudukottai. But once more they were lost and Pratap was stopped from pursuing hostilities by the order of the Nawab. The Nawab was the real lord of Tanjore, firmly established and protected by the English Company and free from any rival. There were some petty frontier disputes during the reign with the *Tondaman* also.

When the successor of Pratap led an expedition against Ramnad to recover the lost possessions, the Nawab took it as an affront to himself and led the first expedition against Tanjore. The real object of Muhammad Ali was to annex the rich kingdom, so he wanted to ruin it in the hope of soon getting hold of it. In his letters of 1763 and 1765, he refused to allow the Raja to repair the Kaveri *anicut* on which depended the wealth of his kingdom.

Decline of Tanjore

The weakness of the successors of Pratap Singh was one of the causes of the decline of the kingdom. But more powerful was the avarice of Muhammad Ali strongly entrenched behind the Company. The last battle of Panipat had spelt disaster to the Maratha cause in India (1761). The unity of the Maratha empire was broken. But, still, the Maratha was the strongest factor in India with whom the rising territorial power of the English Company had to reckon. Want of a statesmanlike policy on the part of Maratha leaders and the isolation of Tanjore from the main

current of Maratha power alike, contributed to the downfall of this small principality.

Pratap Singh died on 16th December 1763. His third and fifth queens committed Sati. His son and successor was Tuljaji.

Additional authorities.

1. Orme : A history of the military transactions of the British in Hindustan 2 Vols.
2. Wilks : Sketches of South India 2 Vols.
3. Dodwell : Dupleix and Clive.
4. Aitchison : Treaties and engagements Vol. 10.
5. Papers relative to the Restoration of the Raja of Tanjore Vol. III.

CHAPTER VIII

TULJAJI 1763-1787

Character

Tuljaji had a sound education under his father. He was a linguist and could compose in Sanskrit. He patronized Telugu and Marathi writers. He conferred the worthy title of *Andhra—Kalidasa* on Aluri Kuppana pupil of Kasturirangayyan head of the French peons in Trichinopoly and composer of many odes on his French masters. Besides *Acharya-vijayamu* a translation of Anandagiri's *Sankaravijaya*, Kuppana wrote many works of which may be mentioned *Panchanada Sthalapurana*, *Yakshaganas* of the *Ramayana* and *Bhagavata* stories, *Parama Bhagavatacharitra*, *Indumati Parinaya* and *Karmavipaka*.[1] Telugu literature which flourished so well under the Tanjore Rajas, reached its height of excellence in the post-Vijayanagara period on the banks of the Kaveri and originated its prose section in that fertile soil, ceased to grow after Tulja and fled back to its home-land. In fact, native literatures ceased to have life by the beginning of the nineteenth century, and had to be inoculated with the virus of western ideas before they showed signs of freshness and movement. Simple and direct expression and historical, comparative and critical methods are essentially modern features in which our literatures were wanting.

True to his ancestral traditions, the Raja was very tolerant in his religious views and had great confidence in the missionary Schwartz who had even hopes of

[1] A trien. Cat. of mss. 1913—14 to 1915—16, Vol. 2, Part 3 No. 138.

converting him. The Tanjore Marathas from the time of Shahji were devoted to a line of Advaita Sanyasis, and traditions are extant in Tiruvisanallur the home of the learned at that time about some famous Telugu *Yatis* well-versed in Vedanta to whom the rulers rendered all assistance. The stream of culture and philosophy flowed undiminished from the age of Raghunatha and Sudhindra to that of Tuljaji[1] and Sadguru Swamigal and was then dried up in the arid sands of the modern period.

Very generous to friends and foes, he would not accuse Lord Pigot of corruption even after he was dismissed from service though asked to do so by President Stratton. The luxury and dissipation at the court pictured by Schwartz[2] may be a little over drawn, but they nevertheless indicate the waning of the ruler's interest in the administration of the state. The Madras manuscript bewails his initiation into drink and dismissal of worthy servants like Dabir Pandit.

Two blunders

The first act of his administration was the dismissal and imprisonment of his father's advisers. The *Dabir*, the first revenue minister was forced to disgorge his wealth. The former act alienated the Nawab's sympathies as the ministers were wedded to a friendly policy to Muhammad Ali. The latter, a revengeful punishment so characteristic of personal rule deprived the king of honest and sincere advisers. The *Dabir* was soon recalled to office to the great benefit of the state. It has been found by experience that under Monarchy it

[1] No. I of 1909 is an ins. of Tuljaji referring to Nana Gosavi, son of Setubavasvami, styled Advaitagresara, who was probably the spiritual *Guru* of the King.

[2] Pearson: Mem. of Schwartz Vol. I, P. 318, 334

is best to choose men of character and capacity to run the administration and give them a fixed tenure and power defined by rules. In the period under review, very rarely we find square men put in round holes. *Sirkele* Siva Rao the *Mantri* of Amar Singh was an exception to the rule. Few of the ministers had an itching palm like Suckoji who was easily bribed by Dupleix. No doubt, even in the best days of the Maratha Rajas, for example in the reign of Sarabhoji I, there were intrigues at the Court which fructified in the production of his bogus son. The personal rivalry between Monoji and Gadi Rao in the Court of Pratap sometimes led to disastrous results. But, these are merely specks in an otherwise bright record.

The Nawab's first expedition, 1771

In 1771, Tulja prepared an expedition against the *Poligar* of Ramnad who had wrested Hanumantagudy and other territories from Tanjore in the previous reign (1763). There was also a disputed succession in which the King took sides. Tulja recovered the lost possessions and obtained money both from the big and the little Maravars. The Nawab between whom and the Raja there was no love lost, utilised this supposed affront to the dignity of his overlordship to punish the Raja for having interfered with one of his dependents. The Company sent a force to assist the Nawab in his undertaking (1771). The fort was invested, a breach was made and when the troops were about to assault, the Raja offered a large sum to the Nawab's son who concluded a treaty without the consent of the English. The Raja could obtain promise of help from Trimbuck Rao who was warring with Mysore paying five lakhs, but an offer of four lakhs by the Nawab made him swallow the promise. So a humilia-

ting treaty was forced upon the Raja by the invader. Eight lakhs of arrears were to be paid, about thirty two lakhs were given for war expenses for which two *Subhas* were to be enjoyed by the Nawab for two years, the Company's merchants and weavers were to be protected by the Raja and the Raja was to have the same foreign policy as the Nawab who must be helped in war-time. Arni long under Tanjore and Hanumantagudy were taken away from the Raja's possessions. This secret treaty though it did not omit to take care of the Company's interests was condemned by the Madras Government.

The Nawab's second expedition

The Raja did not fulfil the treaty. He was believed to be intriguing with Hyder and the Marathas. As a matter of fact, he had to buy off the Sultan, of Mysore in his recent visitation, as otherwise the latter would have plundered and desolated Tanjore. There was communication between Satara and Tanjore, and the Nawab considered this as perilous to his position. But there had been occasional friendly correspondence from the days of Pratap Singh. The Raja's sale of a few villages to the Dutch and the Danes in return for military help in times of need, an old condition in treaties with them, strengthened the suspicion that the Raja was planning a revolt. So, once more, with the help of the Company, Tanjore was taken and the Raja made prisoner (1773). In the same year, Raghunatha Rao on Tulja's appeal for help *started* south with an army, and demanded the restoration of the Raja pleading that Tanjore belonged to Sahu and not to the Nawab, but intrigues at Poona made him return at once without effecting anything.

The city was garrisoned by 8,000 of the Carnatic troops. For three years 1773-6, the Raj was in Muhammadan hands, the only Muslim interlude in the long

The sad plight of Tanjore

history of Tanjore. The plight of the country was miserable. Its revenues were made over to the Nawab's creditors like Paul Benfield who exacted the last pie out of the hungry, dumb and helpless cultivators. Schwartz records a large emigration of people for want of food and work.[1] In 1775, 81 lakhs of rupees were collected, while the highest amount collected till then had been 57½ lakhs in 1761. According to Lord Pigot, between 1774 and 1776, 97½ lakhs of *chuckrams* were extorted by the Nawab.

Restoration of the Raja

The Court of Directors ordered the restoration of the Raja and justly condemned the second expedition. Tulja was too weak to attempt independence and the only effective help he could secure in those days was from Hyder or the Marathas neither of whom possessed a plethora of statesmanship. So it was idle to pretend that the Raja organised a revolt. On many an occasion, even in recent history, the British system of graded authorities has offered a safety-valve in times of danger. The aggrieved look to the higher authorities who thus get a chance to rectify mistakes, review the subordinates' acts and white-wash them with great grace. The restored Raja forgetting his recent humiliation wrote in gratitude with characteristic exaggeration, "Had I a thousand tongues, they could not express my gratitude to the Company. The country is the Company's...".

A new treaty

The new treaty concluded with him on the occasion of his restoration deprived him of the small army he had. In 1768 says Schwartz, the Raja had 6000 horse and 2000 foot.[2] Except a few native guards, the Raja was to have no army. He

[1]Pearson : Mem. of Schwartz Vol. I, p. 304.

[2]Remains of Schwartz P. 77 letter of 1768.

was to maintain an English contingent to counteract other European influences and enforce regular payment of tribute to the Nawab. Besides the tribute to the Nawab four lakhs were to be paid to the Company for the troops maintained for the safety of Tanjore. Even if *Poligars* or *Kallars* ravaged the country, the Raja had to request the English to go and drive them out. One important feature of sovereignty was thus taken away at the so-called restoration. There was also a provision in the treaty that he was to have no foreign policy of his own. But this was unnecessary and speaks only of the extreme cautiousness of the Company. For, the other European powers in India were moribund. The Raja called "the friend and ally of the Carnatic" in the treaty with Hyder in 1769 was thus, reduced to the state of a petty vassal with no army, little surplus revenue, a reduced kingdom and a plundered people. The Nawab an independent prince according to the treaty of Paris (1763) was a helpless puppet in the hands of the Company and a plaything in the hands of his creditors. The Company was the supreme factor in the Carnatic and had sufficient physical force and sinews of war to maintain its status. The Coramandel had now no troops except the British eating out of the Nawab's assignment and Tanjore revenues. The *de facto* ruler of the country it gave the Nawab a long rope and the latter, blind to his own interest was making himself more and more dependent on the company for money and arms. 277 villages called the Nagore settlement were given by Tulja to the Company saving the ryot's shares and *inams* to temples, choultries and *Brahmans*. This was the second footing for the English in the fertile garden of the south. Like many other and more powerful foes at a later date, the Raja was caught in the net of subsidiary

alliance out of which he was too weak to escape. He became the direct ally and a protected prince of the British. The treaty was only the thin end of the wedge and it was not long before it naturally led to absorption. Thus the Raja had to pay a heavy price for his restoration, and by the subsequent treaties the position of the Raja was made more and more burdensome and expensive.

Hyder's ravages

It is only left to record that the misery of the people was augmented by Hyder's invasion during the second Mysore war (1781.) Col. Braithwite's surrender to Tippu in Tanjore reduced the Raja to the sorest straits. The only source of help failed. Except the capital, the Kingdom was in the occupation of the enemy for 6 months. The people were plundered and carried away. Schwartz records the abduction of 12,000 children by Tippu as late as 1784.[1] Their cattle were taken and channels destroyed. The ever ready *Kallars* swooped down on the almost empty granary of the south. Already fleeced by the Nawab for three years and the Raja subsequently, the people cursed themselves the day they were born and looked to God with piteous cries for food. Large areas went out of cultivation. There was no work, there was no food. 65,000 fled from the country for want of sustenance. There were heaps of dead in and round Tanjore according to Schwartz.[2] A glance at the statistics given below will convince any one how the country did not recover from the effects of the occupation till 1800.[3] Never had the people of Tanjore experienced so much terror and misery in such a short time as in the days of the

[1] Pearson: Mem. of Sch. Vol. 2, p. 23.
[2] Pearson: Mem. of Schwartz Vol. I.
[3] Rep. of the Com. 1799, p. 15.

'*Kalakakkarar*'.[1] The revenues of the state were thrown into chaos and uncertainty. Agriculture was utterly disorganised and several villages lacked the wherewithal to begin cultivation. So a new and ultimately dangerous and oppressive system was introduced

[1] Stories are still current about *Hyderkalabam*. The author has heard them from his great grandmother. At the approach of the plunderers who generally came on horse-back, the houses were deserted after the valuables were hidden. Only old women were left in the houses. Girls of age were sometimes hidden in barns and the horses used to scent their presence!

Date	Gross Produce	Government share	Price per Kalam
			Rs. A. P.
1776	7,996,340	56	0 9 0
1777	10.720,272	56	0 5 7
1778	10,671,049	56	0 5 1
1779	10,016,101	56	0 7 6
1780	10,439,057	54	0 4 9
1781	1,578,520	62	0 15 8
1782	1,370,174	56	0 10 7
1783	3,822,612	56	0 13 2
1784	5,336,050	56	0 11 3
1785	6,534,245	58	0 7 4
1786	6,049,430	59	0 6 7
1787	6,598,724	58	0 6 7
1788	6,571,184	55	0 11 6
1789	7,107,437	55	0 9 4
1790	7,994,130	55	0 8 3
1791	7,994,130	55	0 10 0
1792	8,130,162	55	0 11 3
1793	8,791,365	55	0 10 2
1794	8,512,984	56	0 7 0
1795	9,130.929	56	0 5 0
1796	9,049,040	56	0 5 5

known as the system of *Puttackdars*[1] to improve cultivation. Some taxes were remitted and promise was given of further relief.

The death of the Raja

Tuljaji died at the age of 49. Two of his queens committed *sati*. His children had predeceased him. So he adopted Sarabhoji from a collateral branch and agreed to his brother's rule as regent till the boy came of age. The missionary Schwartz, a great friend of the Raja, was also charged by him with the task of taking care of young Sarabhoji.

Additional authorities.

1. Copies of papers relative to the restoration of the Raja of Tanjore Vols. 1-3.
2. Wilks: Historical Sketches of South India 2 Vols.
3. Aitchison: Treaties, engagements and sanads Vol. X.
4. Schwartz, his remains consisting of letters, journals etc.
5. Pearson: Memoirs of Schwartz 2 Vols.
6. Original papers relative to Tanjore.
7. The Restoration of the Raja of Tanjore considered 1777.

[1] To rule with the *pathakam* (an ornamental medal) is the vernacular phrase. Tradition represents the *Puttackdars* as autocratic and oppressive.

CHAPTER IX

AMAR SINGH 1787-1798

Amar Singh *alias* Ramaswamy was the son of a concubine of Pratap. The Marathi inscription of Sarabhoji II naturally casts aspersions on the birth of Amara who was a usurper according to it. It was the dying wish of Tuljaji that Amar Singh should ascend the throne during the minority of Sarabhoji. The Company practically forced a treaty on the regent on his accession. By it, two fifths of Tanjore revenues were to go to the military peace establishment, for which territorial security was to be given to the Company. In war time the amount should be doubled. Three lakhs of *Pagodas* towards the debt to the Nawab and four lakhs of annual tribute made over to the Company by the former were to be paid into the English coffers by the Raja. There was also the usual clause about same friends and foes.

Atreaty forced on him

The charges that had to be met from the revenues were so many after the treaty that it was impossible for the Raja to meet them regularly. The Madras manuscript speaks of the misery of the people, the corruption of the state servants, the difficulties in collection and the irregularity in the payment of the tribute and other dues to the Company. Amar Singh is said to have increased *Kudivaram* to make himself popular and alienated[1] much land as *inams* to his favorites and learned and religious men. The *Puttack* system i.e. the division of the Kingdom under a few *Puttackdars* to account for the revenue and encourage cultivation proved unsatisfactory. So it was inevitable that the Company should

[1] The Rep. of the Commission of 1798.

take up the work of collection in its hands in 1790-1791. The Company's *dubashes* were not more scrupulous or sympathetic than the Raja's servants and made as much money as they could in as short a time. Thus Schwartz writes that a *dubash* earned on an average two to four lakhs in ten or fifteen years.

Another treaty

After the war with Tippu Sultan, another treaty was made with Amar Singh on the same lines as the treaty with the Nawab (1792). The Company maintained a military force and the Raja paid a certain sum towards it. The army was under the Company's control and the forts of the Kingdom were garrisoned with its troops. In war time, the Company was to have full command over the Kingdom and revenues of Tanjore save that one lakh of *Pogodas* and one-fifth of the net revenue were to be paid to the Raja. The subsidy and tribute were to be paid in time, otherwise the Company was to collect the amount for itself. Foreign policy and the army were taken away first, and then collection of revenue was attempted to be taken away from the Raja, Without the power of the sword, there was little prestige, and without the power of a full purse there was little hope of ever acquiring it back.

The English a conservative nation

These successive treaties speak of the innate conservatism of the Englishmen who penetrated slowly but surely and in course of time annexed the kingdom itself. Each successive treaty gives more power to the Company than the preceding one, thus affording it ampler opportunities to study the situation and familiarise itself with the people, so that in course of time the annexation would not be felt and if felt, would be thought of as a change for the

better. Not that the Company could not have extinguished the Tanjore principality earlier. But why should it do it? How would its interests have been served better by the absence of a Raja than by a powerless one? The time was not yet ripe for the change. The Nawab was still the *de jure* overlord. A precipitate annexation after such elaborate treaties of friendship would have ruined the Company's prestige. The Sultan of Mysore was still a live factor in South Indian Politics. And an unfriendly act in Tanjore would have only augmented the avoidable difficulties of the English.

Amar Singh's intrigues against the proper heir led to the visit of the Madras Governor to Tanjore. After consulting some *pandits*, he declared the adoption of Sarabhoji invalid and proclaimed Amar Singh as the legal successor of his brother Tuljaji (1793).

The question of adoption

As early as 1790, Schwartz, who played a significant part in the deposition of Amar Singh, wrote that the principal men of the kingdom called for the Company's protection and that one lakh of people were not made to satisfy the rapacious moneylenders of the King, to whom districts were farmed out for revenue. He had no liking for a king who was keeping out his ward Sarabhoji from whom he hoped much for his community. It is also likely that he entertained hopes of converting him as he had simlar hopes of Tulja, and a royal conversion would have considerably enhanced the reputation of the missionary and his religion. His dying words to Sarabhoji were that he should become a Christian. So Schwartz spared no pains to represent or misrepresent the defects in the Raja's administration. Defects there were in an ample measure, but the 'illiterate' king as Schwartz calls him, managed the affairs of the state somehow

amidst *Himalayan* difficulties. Sarabhoji and the widows of Tulja appealed to Lord Cornwallis against ill-treatment at the Raja's hands. "That I still live, I owe to the kindness of government", wrote the young prince with more gratitude than accuracy.

Neither the natural solicitude of Schwartz for the Prince nor the latter's too generous letter to Government excites our smile so much as the attitude of the Madras Government in the matter of adoption. Only five years before, Sarabhoji's adoption had been declared invalid because he was the only son of his natural father, he was too old at the time of adoption and his adoptive father was imbecile at that time. Now, the Government arrived at the truth in a mysterious manner, made the timid *pandits* sing again in chorus with it, and boldly declared that Amar Singh was deposed and Sarabhoji set up. Not a tear was dropped at this momentous change for joy or sorrow, for a change of masters was rarely felt by the people except when there was an increase of taxes. It appears from Lord Valentia's *Travels* that the English Resident wanted Amar Singh to resign the kingdom for a pension as Sarabhoji did two years later, but he refused to do so. Hence the inquiry and deposition in all probability. Anyhow, Sarabhoji had a better title as Tulja's adopted son.

Character of Amar Singh

Amar Singh was good and humane as mentioned in "*The Life of General Sir David Baird*" quoted by Major Basu.[1] He was loyal to the Company and bore with patience the hard yoke of its treaties. He was so principled as to refuse to resign his Raj in return for a handsome pension. Even a more competent person could not have ruled more successfully with an overgrown burden on his

[1] The rise of the Christian power in India Vol. 2, p. 405.

revenues and the everchanging attitude of the Company. The balance of money in the treasury was barely sufficient for his expenses. What could such a King do to his people? He could have saved them from the oppression of the tax-collectors whom the oriental dreads. Oppression and injustice are the two crying evils from which every state should give protection to its subjects. If the oppression of his money-lenders and the Company's *dubashes* stand to the discredit of the Raja, the reorganisation of the judicial machinery at the instance of Schwartz is eloquent of the wisdom of the deposed Amar Singh. The reduction of half the duty on all cooly loads and the increase of the *kudivaram* of the ryots speak alike of his desire for popularity and wish for the long life of the milch-cow of the state.

CHAPTER X

SARABHOJI II 1798-1833 AND SIVAJI 1833-1855

The preamble to the treaty of 1799 says that, previous to his elevation to the throne, Sarabhoji had engaged to consent to some arrangement for the better management of his kingdom. Between 1798 and 1799 a committee appointed by the Company inquired into the conditions of the Raj and reported about the corruption then prevalent in the administration. But there was no tyranny. Whatever the reason was, Sarabhoji resigned the administration into the hands of the Company and received a pension of one lakh of *Pagodas* and one-fifth the net revenue. This was the arrangement for the better management of his kingdom. This is only a step further from the treaty of 1792 which had deprived the Raja of much of his power and revenue. Sarabhoji became a mere titular dignitary without the onerous duties of a ruler. Another treaty in the same year deprived him of all power except in the fort of Tanjore and its neighbourhood. A permanent revenue and judicial system was to be established by the Company. The land-revenue once fixed by the Company should not be liable to alteration afterwards.

Sarabhoji's resignation

Lord Wellesley was at the helm of affairs, one of the greatest of the Indian Governors-General, and nothing short of the above arrangement was to be expected from such an imperious and imperial ruler. The transfer of the throne from Amar Singh to Sarabhoji was therefore done with a design and a purpose. Nobody doubts

Was the resignation moral?

at this late hour the wisdom of the step, but only its morality is questionable. This may be taken as one of those cases where the end has justified the means. Undoubtedly, the subjects of Sarabhoji passed under a modern and more efficient administration. Without an army or sufficient revenue, the Raja could not protect his kingdom or command respect from his allies and friends. Nor could he contribute to the welfare of his kingdom. It was but natural that he who enjoyed the bulk of the revenue and controlled the physical force of the state should hold himself responsible for its administration and well-being. The isolated Tanjore Raj had no function or mission in the nineteenth century. It had fallen under effete and helpless rulers who fell easy victims to the might and diplomacy of the Nawab and the Company.

A prince of culture and tastes

Sarabhoji devoted his time to the pursuit of culture and made his Court the home of learning. The taste for western learning he acquired from his association with Schwartz the missionary for whom he has erected a splendid monument in marble in the chapel at Tanjore. He spoke and wrote English well and enlarged the big library at Tanjore with printed books and manuscripts in many languages. According to Dr. Burnell who has catalogued the books, it is one of the biggest libraries with 22,000 volumes mostly in Sanskrit. The works found there represent all fields of literature, *Vedanta*, Grammar, *Kavya*, Music, Dancing, Architecture, Medicine, Astronomy etc. There are many palm-leaf manuscripts belonging to a period anterior to the Nayakas, but the majority belong to the Nayaka and Maratha times. Some of the old medical treatises were collected

and edited at the order of the Raja and thus preserved for the benefit of posterity.[1]

He had a small museum, collected old coins and installed a printing-press of his own, a curiosity in those days. His press was one of the first of its kind with *Devanagiri* type. The modern *nagari* character became familiar in the south after the Maratha conquest and gradually superseded the *grantha* script. His inquisitive spirit is shown by the air-pump, the electric machine, the ivory human skeleton and the astronomical instruments found in his palace. Of architecture, he had some knowledge, and in painting he evinced shrewd interest. Oil paintings of the Maratha Rajas of Tanjore adorn the walls of his *Durbar* hall. Besides, there are some paintings in the palace and in the Madras museum of some of the Maratha Rajas and their queens and ministers which show considerable skill in the art. Very valuable old color prints can be seen to-day in the library and some other buildings. The tower *Manora* with eight storeys at Saluvanayakan Pattanam is a beautiful memorial of Sarabhoji the lover of art. He erected it as a thanks-offering for the English victory over Napoleon.[2]

A handsome and well built figure with cultured tastes, Sarabhoji was a popular prince. He was a lover of, and owned, good horses. Bishop Heber calls him a deadly shot, and appreciates his employment of Christians. Lord Valentia extols his good nature and polished manners. He was a typical Eastern Raja

[1]Tan. Lib. Catalogue of Tamil mss. III Nos. 16, 18, 19, 28, 30, 40, 66, 70-79, 81-90 and 99 are collections of the recipes of Sattamani, Dhanvantri, and Agasthya for various *rogas*.

[2]M.E.R. 1925, p. 95. He erected two columms at Sethubhavasathram and Pattukkottai to immortalise in brick and mortar his gratitude to the British Government for his restoration. They were hardly finished when he resigned.

in his patronage of music and other fine arts. Besides, his charities were liberal and mainly directed towards the feeding of the poor. Two sanskrit verses in an inscription at Orattanad extol his generous help towards the celebration of several vedic sacrifices[1].

Sivaji was the only surviving son of Sarabhoji. A pale and sickly lad, in the words of Heber, as a man he was not noted for his physical or mental attainments. We have a few dramas and panegyrics from his reign.[2] He married twenty wives and left two daughters and no son when he died in 1855. The present prince of Tanjore is descended from the adopted son of Sivaji.

The titular dignity of the Raja became extinct on his death without an heir. Dalhousie's inexorable *lapse* swept away the regal dignity and everything. The decision of the Privy Council that the lapse of *all* properties was an act of state was obviously unjust and, has left a very unpleasant memory of the English dealings with the Tanjore Raj. Subsequent to the decision, however, the private property of the Raj was restored to the proper claimants. The "prince and ally " of Lord Clive thus became a subject of the East India Company. " When the announcement of lapse was made", writes the Resident, "no demonstration of the public feeling was made and I had no reason to require any aid even from the ordinary Police." Had the people no feeling of sorrow for the departed Raj, or, had they no courage to express it? No true psychologist can fail to notice the deepseated loyalty of the Indian nation to its Rajas, and at the same time its highly peaceful nature. But lovers of peace must have the strength to maintain it. For more than half a century,

[1] MER 1911, P 93.
[2] Tanj. Lib. Cat. of Tamil Mss. I. No. 629, 640, 646, II No 651 b.

the Tanjore people had looked to the British as their rulers who led them on into the fuller modern life.

Thus ended yet another dynasty that had ruled over Tanjore. It went the way of the Nayak and the Chola.

The end

When it lost its might, it lost its right to exist. Whatever might be said to the contrary, power can effectively be exericised only by those who command the physical force of the state. For, you cannot rule a people by kissing them, and stem invasions by the *Kusa* grass. If the Tanjore Raj had continued, it would have been only one more clog on the wheels of progress and unity.

Additional authorities.

1. Hickey's Tanjore Maratha principality 1874
2. Bishop Heber: Travels III, p. 456
3. Lord Valentia: Travels I, Ch. 7
4. M. E. R. 1924, p. 119-122.

CHAPTER XI.

THE ADMINISTRATION

The king was at the head of the state. The state and its resources were his, and his ministers were his servants. "The king of Tanjore," writes Schwartz, "is in the estimation of the ignorant a prince who governs according to his despotic will, but he is in fact more a slave than a king." His domestic engagements and physical and mental recreations left him but a little time for affairs of state. The superstitions of the priests, the missionary adds, kept him always confined to the palace. Even in the reign of the most active Raja, much of the governmental work actually devolved on the ministers and the local administrators.

The King's council of advisers

The ministers who formed the Raja's council were generally learned men chosen from the higher classes. Sometimes the Raja's brother, son or other relations were called to the council. Instances are not wanting of ministerial offices passing from father to son. The family of Gangadhara Makhi held the office of chief adviser to the king from the days of the founder till Tukkoji's reign. Though it was a monopoly of the family, nothing can be said against the capacity of the incumbents. The office of *Mantri* was sometimes combined with that of *Dalavoy*. Bavaji, son of Gangadhara of the Pattukottai inscription, the Boloji of Lockman, was *Mantri* and *Dalavoy*. The *Dalavoy* was the *Senapathi* or Commander-in-Chief of the army. Anandaraya Makhi, or *Peshwa* as he is once called, was *Dalavoy* and won distinction in the Ramnad war.

He was first *Dharmadhikari* and then became Dalavoy. His father and grandfather were ministers and so he had a hereditary claim to the office. He served three sovereigns Shahji, Sarabhoji and Tukkoji as *Dalavoy* and *Mantri* assuming the office after his uncle Tryambaka Makhi.

As revenue collection has always been an important function, the *Pradhani* or *Dewan* was next in importance to the *Dalavoy*. *Subedar* Rago Pandit was *Dewan* of Sarabhoji according to the Madras Epigraphist's report for 1911, while Anandaraya was his *Dalavoy* and *Mantri*. In later days, *Dabir* Pandit [1] filled the office with credit and made a Settlement of the land-revenue. Then, there were the *Samprati*, the accountant, *the Dharmadhikari*, and the *Sirkele* or Chamberlain of the royal household. Under the accountant or *Kanakkan*, there were a number of subordinates keeping the '*sumperdee*' accounts as distinguished from the *Nattukkanakku*. There was a need for a minister for charities as the state did much in that line. Reference has been made at the very beginning to *Subedar* Ayyavayyan who became *Dharmadikari, Sirkele and Dewan* successively according to tradition. The office of *Sirkele* was introduced by Pratap Singh, according to the Commission of 1798. But tradition is strong of its existence in Sarabhojis reign.[2] Moreover, Ghanasyama Pandita calls himself the *Grihamatya* of Tukkoji, and *Sirkele* was only another name for domestic minister. In later times, *Sirkele* Siva Rao was the chief adviser of Amar Singh. *Rayasam* or seceretary corresponding to the Chola *Tirumanthiraolai*

[1] Dabir=secretary. (Mar.) The Mantri is called *Kharbari* (Tamil *kaiwar*) in Marathi and in the Tamil Ms.

[2] The Mar. Ins. speaks of Katturaja's ill-treatment of Baba s *Sirkele*.

was also an important office, and it is not known if the office continued separately or was merged in the *Sirkele.* Another member of the *Ashtapradhan* was the *Purohit.* Besides these big officials, there were a chief judge and an *Amildar* for the capital. The fort was under a *Khilledar* who was another important official. There were *arikars* or spies to supply the king with all news. Thus the administration was well organised and divided under a number of ministers for efficiency. In the prosperous days of Maratha rule which ended with Tukkoji, the administration was intact. Later on, the duties of the Raja decreased, outside interference increased, the administration went out of gear and some of the offices fell into disuse.

Local government

The old political divisions continued to be used in inscriptions. Thus a copperplate No. 14 of 1920-1921 of 1759 (A.D.) speaks of Pamba *valanadu* a subdivision of Rajendrasola *valanadu.* Another inscription of 1769 (A.D.) in the same plate records a gift of 45 *Rajagopalan Chuckram pon* by the sixteen divisions of Pappakudi *nadu* a subdivision of Poyyur *kurram* a district of Jayankonda *nadu.* No 15 of 1920-1921 gives the same political divisions. A copperplate of 1647 *Saka*[1] of the *Tondaman* contains the following series, village, *maganam, nadu, kurram and* (*palaiya*) *pattu.*

But, for administrative purposes the old subdivisions were not used. The whole kingdom was divided into *Subahs* each of which was under a *Subedar.* There were the *Subahs* of Pattukkottai, Mannargudy, Mayavaram, Kumbakonam and Tiruvadi. Except on the Arantangi frontier there was little material difference in boundaries between the old Tanjore kingdom and the present

[1] M. E. R. 1918.

Tanjore district. The term *Simai* is used to denote a division smaller than the *Subah*. No. 420 of 1918 dated in 1692 *Saka* speaks of Kaderayar as governor of Srigali *Simai*, while Chaykkadu is mentioned as a *Simai* comprising the *maganam* of Kaveripatnam in No. 273 of 1911. So village, *maganam*, *simai*, and *subah* were the administrative subdivisions in the Maratha period. The *Subedar* was a civil and military officer with the power to collect revenue with the aid of the *Amins* who had the power even to imprison a ryot for non-payment of revenue [1]. Since in an inscription at Sembanarkoil *Subah* Ayyavayyan is mentioned together with *Havildar* Thandavaraya Mudali, we may surmise that the Maratha rule was founded on a quasi-military basis.

The village

Each village was a commonwealth with its officers, and it treated with outsiders through its head indifferent to any changes in the Central Government. The officers were given rent-free lands for their services. There were a host of village servants, the *karnam*, the watchman, the waterman, the smith, the carpenter, the barber, the washerman and others enjoying common lands or having fixed grain shares. The village provided for charities to the temples and the poor. The expenses of the village repairs and festivals were met in common.

The village officer kept a record of rights and shares called *Nattukkanakku*. The *Nattuvar* or the proprietors of the village, called *Mahajana* in inscriptions [2] and claiming a *sambhavana* on marriage occasions even to-day in

[1] Curious stories are still current about some of the punishments which used to be inflicted for non-payment. The application of an Indian variation of the thumb-screw and placing a grinding stone on the head were considered disgraceful punishments.

[2] 541 of 1918, dated 1659 *Saka*.

the Tanjore district, met together in *Panchayat* to settle any question arising about the *mirasidars'* share in the produce of land and similar matters. They had full control over the *Nattukkarnam.* A duplicate of these accounts was kept by the government officer in the *maganam* or *subah*

The present village Munsif with the power of collecting revenue dates only from 1836. The village Munsif has had police and petty judicial power from 1816. When the English took Tanjore, there were no officers in the villages to look after Government interests. That was the complaint of the Commission of 1798, the absence of a central agent in every village.

We have little definite information about the administration of justice before Pratap Singh. All papers of any consequence found in the fort were carried away and partly destroyed by the Nawab during his temporary occupation of Tanjore.[1]

Justice

Bartolomeo speaks of a system of itinerant justice in Tanjore and Trichinopoly, but there is little confirmatory evidence. The administration of justice must have been largely localised as it was later on, with the provision for an appeal in some cases.

The administration of civil justice centred in one judge first appointed by Pratap Singh on 30 *pagodas* a month with a small establishment to register the decrees. An appeal lay to the Raja who referred the matter to one of his principal officers like the *Sirkele.* Schwartz records scandalous sales of justice, and at his suggestion a reform was introduced.[2] A bench consisting of a President and four judges was established by Amar Singh.

[1]The Rep. of the com. of 1798, and page 9 Country correspondence, Ft. St. George, 1803.

[2]Pearson: Mem. of Schwartz Vol. 2

The court sat every day and took up all civil cases if the parties would not refer them to a *Panchayat* of the heads of their respective castes. The award of the judge or arbitrators was read in open court and signed. The Raja had the right to reject any such decision. The Court fee was 5% on all money claims. Fines were levied up to 120 *Chuckrams* on the real property in dispute.[1] It is to be noted with regret that even under the reorganised system the king's favorites and moneylenders could get decisions in their favor where they were parties in a suit.

In villages distant from Tanjore, the disputes were settled by private arbitration. If the parties would not agree to it, the *Subedar* named arbitrators to decide them. There was an appeal to the Raja from the award of the *Panchayat.* A monthly account of the proceedings was sent to the Raja who might reverse any decision. The system of arbitration was cheap, quick and on the whole good. British law and justice have many merits but centralisation has led to great expense, delay and worry at every turn.

As late as the time of Sarabhoji II, there was an instance of a cruel ordeal in a land dispute.[2] The person concerned dipped his finger in boiling ghee and came out of the ordeal unhurt, thus proving the justice of his cause! This kind of appeal to God had become a curious survival by this time.

The Commission of 1798 notes that the administration of criminal justice was good. Capital punishments were few. The Raja had direct control over criminal justice and meted out *sastraic* punishments tempered with mercy after an inquiry into the cases. Petty cases were dis-

[1] The Rep. of the Com. of 1798, p. 16.

[2] M. E. R. 1924, p. 11—1922.

posed of by the village big men who often took the law into their own hands and made an impression on the delinquent with their rod of justice. The British may revert, with profit to their subjects, to the system of *local* justice though not to the rough and ready system of those days. The *kavalkar* or watchmen of the village did the duties of the modern police. When the Central Government became weak, they became a scourge to the village, and levied black-mail. In 1814 the system of *kavalkar* was abolished by the Government.

CHAPTER XII

CHARITIES AND RELIGIOUS TOLERATION

The supreme duty of the king next to the preservation of peace was the maintenance and increase of charities.

Choultries and *Inams*

Constructing and repairing temples, digging tanks, building choultries, these were considered as acts of great merit. In the grants of Karikal to the French and Nagore to the English, the Rajas have expressly laid down that the foreigners should not interfere with the *inams* to pagodas, Brahmans, choultries, water *pandals*, etc. According to the latter, no house was to be built by the *Sircar* in a Brahman village, no European was to dwell near a Pagoda or a sacred tank or *agraharam*. The early Maratha kings have given several *agraharams* in charity to Brahmans for their scholarship or skill in music, astrology, medicine or other arts. A number of choultries for feeding all castes were established and endowed with lands. Many of them were in memory of their queens. To mention a few, Pratap's *chatrams* at Tanjore, Manamelkudi and Nidamangalam, Tulajaji's at Minpesal, Darasaram, Ammachatram and Rajamatam, Sarabhoji's at Orattanad with an income of thirty three thousands a year and Sivaji's at Tanjore are a few of the well-known poor-feeding houses of the Tanjore District. As eating in a choultry was considered *infra dig* it was a real poor house. In this hot land, even as rest-houses with good wells and spacious gardens attached to them, these choultries are invaluable for pedestrians and travellers in country Carts. Charities like temple repairs and tank-

digging which every king and queen yearned to do to earn fame here and in the other world resulted in providing ample work to the poor. To a few of the choultries *patasalas* were attached. There were two hospitals attached to the Tanjore choultry of Sarabhoji, one on the eastern and the other on the western systems. There are even to-day *sarvamanyams* enjoyed by sons of *srautis*, astrologers, musicians and *gurus* patronised by the kings of those days.

There were, besides the royal library, private collections of books like Manambhatta's which speak much of the general intellectual eminence of the capital. Till recently, there was no competitor to Tanjore in the field of music. Even now there is a widespread notion that every Tanjorean can sing, and likewise that he is of high intellectual calibre. Thiagier, a Telugu Brahman of the country, was mainly responsible for spreading the fame of Tanjore as the seat of music in the nineteenth century. Rajas like Tukkoji, Pratap and .Amar Singh were well versed in music. The disappearance of the *royal* court of Tanjore has led to a rapid though it is to be hoped temporary decline of activities in various fields, to wit, literature, music, dancing, painting, metal and wood carving, pithwork and silkweaving which were highly encouraged in those days by the Rajas, their Queens and mistresses, their courtiers and grandees.

The history of the Christian missions in Tanjore speaks highly of the tolerant spirit that charcterised the Rajas.

The Danish mission[1]

Negapatam was occupied by the Portuguese in 1612 and by the Dutch in 1660. So there were already Christians in the kingdom when the Danish mission arrived here in 1706, eightysix years after the Danish settlement. King Frederick IV of

[1] A history of missions in India by Richter Ch. 2.

Denmark sent Plutschau and Zieganbalg the founders of the Protestant mission in India. Zieganbalg mastered Tamil, translated and printed the New Testament and preached in native dress whenever necessary. The Raja became a friend of the mission when Grundler was its head (1721). The missionaries could carry on their activities unmolested by a deeply religious people who were as tolerant as their king. It is doubtful if even to-day Hindu or Muhammadan missionaries will be treated half as well in European countries as we have treated the Christian missionaries from the seventeenth century.

Schwartz

The name of Schwartz 1726-1798, a German missionary is intimately connected with a part of Tanjore history and the extinction of the Tanjore Raj. He was once sent as an ambassador to Hyder Ali by the Madras Government and a statue was put up in Ft. St. George in memory of his services. From 1779 till his death, the missionary remained at Tanjore. At his request, lands were given for the building and upkeep of churches in the Maratha kingdom. He knew many languages, led a simple life and helped the poor. The missionary influence, there is no doubt, has gradually affected besides other influences, the social and religious fabric of India and helped in its reconstruction on an equal and rational basis.

Schwartz was Tuljaji's best adviser and he was entrusted by the Raja with the care of Sarabhoji. He had great hopes that Tuljaji might become a Christian and was confident that it would have happened but for the Company's aid to the Nawab to dethrone him. But, as Schwartz himself admits, the Brahmanical influence was too great at the court to allow such a catastrophe. He curses the Brahmans as mischief makers, for

Brahmans safeguard Hinduism

they were against missionary influences. He never misses an opportunity to have a fling at the Brahmans who, in another place, are accused of monopolising all big offices. The lower classes were uneducated, forsooth, because of the Brahman, the Moll White of all evil! Lockman in a letter dated 1702 writes of the Brahman in a similar vein for his attitude towards the missionaries. It is difficult to convert Brahmans, he writes, and Baloji (Bavaji) the Tanjore minister is against Christians.

The hold of Hinduism over the people

The great love and affection Sarabhoji bore to Schwartz the friend, protector and guardian of his youth is immortalised in the Schwartz church at Tanjore in which the dying missionary is sculptured in marble. His last exhortation to his *chela* was to lead a simple life, be kind to Christians, establish Courts of justice and become a Christian. It is remarkable how Sarabnoji avoided conversion to Christianity in spite of such a close attachment to the missionary.

The diaries of Schwartz are useful to the student of history and have been used with scrutiny in the foregoing pages. The Europeans return home with immense riches, he says in a letter of 1768, and their wickedness and avarice are against the progress of conversion. Besides, the hold that Hinduism had over men with its strong social and religious moorings, the conservatism of the age, the general dislike of Christianity as leading to a certain social equality which went against the grain of every Hindu of those times, and the general though wrong belief that conversion led to beef-eating, wine-drinking and association with the lowest classes—these acted as some of the great obstacles to the advance of the new religion.

The mission was thus not so successful as Schwartz and others had hoped. And even after conversion, the caste differences persisted. Heber deplores the caste differences among Indian Christians which were 'very sharp.' Lord Valentia wonders why there were so few Christians under such favorable circumstances. For, Kings like Tuljaji and Sarabhoji were not only tolerant but actively helped the Christians with money and other means.

CHAPTER XIII

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The foreign trade of the country was in foreign hands. The foreign traders were valued not only for the money they paid for the commodities they bought, but also for their military help, especially their artillery in which the native arm was proverbially weak. Negapatam, Karikal and Tranquebar were ports in foreign hands and paid rent to the Raja. There were many small ports besides, which paid the treasury some dues on imports and exports. The inland customs brought in a small revenue. In 1795-1796 they were farmed to five persons who paid 2,55,267 rupees. Numberless were the small and vexatious imposts which the subjects had to pay. There were Shop, Loom, Toddy, Fishery, Oil and other taxes, the Treasury cess and cesses for the country establishment charges. Cesses were levied for the *kavalkar* and village festivals. Land revenue was the most important source of revenue, and the cesses were collected in proportion to the produce from lands.

Sources of revenue

The tenants had security of tenure and rights of proprietorship if they paid the goverment share. There were three kinds of villages, *Ekabhogam* numbering 1807, *Palabhogam* numbering 2202, and *Samudayam* numbering 1774, the last of two kinds (a) a few villages in which the produce was commonly shared according to the *pangu* or share of each family in the village and (b) the rest with a periodic redistribution of lands. In the latter sub-division the tendency was for the redistribution to become permanent.

Land tenures

Two-thirds of the land was under *ryotwari* tenure. There were a dozen *zemindars* in the non-deltaic tracts dating from pre-Maratha times. Out of 2,393,034 acres of land in the kingdom, 1,591,925 acres were *ryotwari*, 612,085 acres were *inam*, and 189,024 acres *zemindari*. Thus, nearly one-fourth of the kingdom was held as *inam* land by persons accomplished in arts and letters. According to the report of Wallace (1805), there were 42,442 Sudra, 17,149 Brahman and 1,457 Muhammadan *mirasidars* in the kingdom.[1]

Settlement of revenue

The revenues were realised partly by a division of the crop, partly by a grain rent or its value in money, and partly by a fixed rent in cash. The rent was settled with the whole village and not with each individual. In 1768, Schwartz recorded the system of farming districts to the highest bidder. This baneful system is seen recurring till the end, under which the moneylenders of the Raja and the Nawab and the *dubashes* of the Company became the tax farmers.

Schwartz says in his letter of 1768 that 60 to 70 per cent. of the gross produce was taken from the cultivators as government share. The Nawab during his temporary occupation took 59 per cent. which was considered exorbitant. The gross produce of each *veli* of *nanja* land was 148. 44 *kalams* according to the calculation of the famous revenue expert and minister Naroo or *Dabir* Pandit (1773).

Generally the settlement took place thus. From the gross produce of the village were deducted the various allowances to pagodas, Brahmans and village servants. Of the balance 40 to 60 per cent. was deducted as *kudivaram* to tenants. Whatever was left was taken by

[1]Quoted by Wilks : Sketches of S. India I, p. 109—11.

the government. The rent settlements for paddy lands were in grain, and actual payments made in cash at a commutation price. The coins then in use were the *pagoda* ($3\frac{1}{2}$ Company's rupees), *chuckram* or *pon* ($\frac{1}{2}$ a pagoda) big *fanam* ($\frac{1}{6}$th of a rupee) and small *fanam* $\frac{1}{12}$th of a rupee) besides those of smaller denominations.

Pratap Singh, Tuljaji and Amar Singh increased the *kudivaram*. In 1799-1800, in dry grain lands 50 to 60 per cent. of the gross produce was allowed to tenants, while a fixed moneyrent was collected on other dry products. From river-fed wet lands, the tenants took 40 per cent. *pasanam* and 45 per cent. *kar*, while they got 50 to 60 per cent. from the rain-fed wet lands. It is an old system to give loans to cultivators and remit land revenue in case of famine. There is a Consultation [1] of August 1776 in which the Raja asks for a loan of one lakh of *pagodas* to be lent for seeds, etc. to tenants who had lost much on account of floods. The Nawab while holding Tanjore lent money to the cultivators to buy oxen, seeds, etc., and repaired some channels at his own cost. Advances of grain were made by him, but he charged an exorbitant interest on them.

The *Puttack* system

After the invasion of Hyder Ali in 1781, with the good object of extending cultivation, the *Puttack* system was introduced in the deltaic area by Bava Pandit the able minister of Tuljaji. Under it each *Puttackdar* a big landlord chosen by the villagers had in his charge not more than 128 villages. He could employ the implements and other necessary factors of production belonging to the prosperous villages for the cultivation of the less prosperous. Thus he became responsible for cultivation. Then he became responsible for a fixed revenue also from his

1 Copies of paper relat. to the Rest. of the Raja of Tanj. Vol. I.

sub-division. When the government servants were largely dispensed with in the field of revenue collection, the *Puttackdars* became more powerful. There were 225 of them in 1799 and the *Puttack* tended to become hereditary. A temporary expedient in origin, the *Puttack* system became permanent leading to the control of the ryots by these *Zemindari* farmers. On the whole, writes the Commission of 1798, there was no tyranny, and the people of Tanjore were a favoured one. However, the British Government did well in abolishing the *Puttack* system.

The foreign settlements

Negapatam occupied by the Portuguese in 1612 and taken by the Dutch in 1660 paid 5000 *chuckrams* a year to the Raja. Now and then the Raja had to collect his dues at the point of the sword. In 1781 it passed into the hands of the English. Hamilton says that tobacco and long cloth were produced at Negapatam. Bartolomeo speaks of Nagore cloths and the abundance of rice in Tanjore. Nieuhoff also writes of the large export of rice from Negapatam. Karikal was granted to the French in 1736. From 1749 to 1765 it paid no rent. In the latter year the rent was fixed at 7500 rupees per annum. According to a Dutch record of 1741, the port was famous for its silver trade. Tranquebar occupied by the Danes in 1620 and purchased by the English from them in 1845 paid 2,000 *pagodas* a year to the Raja. According to Hamilton, it was noted for its white and dyed cloths. Thus, these foreigners improved the trade by bu--ing the products. The Rajas themselves desired to have them as traders in their kingdom. In a letter of 1622 from an English factory, the Nayak of Tanjore is said to desire trade with the English. Tin, lead, iron

[1] See Press list of ancient Dutch records.

and red cloths could be sold and pepper, cloths, etc., purchased by them. In a letter of 1623 the Nayak is said to promise privileges to the English. Cheaper and better cloths and pepper in reasonable quantities were available in Tanjore.

Additional authorities

1. Tanjore district manual.
2. The Report of the Commission of 1798.
3. Hamilton's new account of the Indies I, p. 348-353.
4. Nieuhoff's voyage to and from the Indies p. 246-249.
5. Bartolomeo's voyage to and from the Indies.
6. Foster : English factories in India Vol. 1622-23 A.D.

CHAPTER XIV

CONCLUSION

In the preceding chapters, a brief account has been given of the Maratha Rajas of Tanjore. Apparently, the dynasty has left only a small Maratha population as its predecessor had left a small Telugu population as its legacy. But, in fact, its history is not inferior in interest to that of any other local line of kings, since it gives us in a small and vivid compass the rise and fall of a dynasty extending over a century, and the shifting politics and subtle diplomacy of the Company in its relations with it. Tanjore was one of those small kingdoms which did not cost the English anything for its acquisition.

One lesson, above all, this short history conveys and that is, that independence can be preserved only by force actively aided by diplomacy. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, a small kingdom with small resources in men and money had little chance of preserving its integrity against an expanding power superior in arms, diplomacy and system of government. Its *catamarans* were no match for the European men of war. Its old fashioned paste-board fort-guards could not stand comparison with the European-trained soldiers. Its forts[1] laboriously built and repaired were useful only to the student of history. The Rajas after Pratap, peculiarly circumstanced as they were between a successful Nawab and a practically powerful Company, lacked enterprise and resourcefulness. If the Rajas of Tanjore

[1]See chap. 2. There were six other forts at Vallam, Tirukkattupalli, Sokkottai, Devikottai, Mahadevapatnam and Pandanallur.

had thrown in their lot with their brethren of Satara and spread Maratha power in South India, their history might not have had such an inglorious career towards the end. But it is doubtful if distance would not have stood in the way of effective co-operation. At all events, the old adage 'union is strength' remained true.

After all, it is for the good of the people that a rule of law has taken the place of the rule of men. A sound military, financial and judicial system is enjoyed by them in common with the rest of British India. And the people are taught, albeit slowly, that the Government is theirs to make or mar, and they can no longer say "what care we if Rama rules or Ravana rules?"

For good or evil, the conception of the Government's duty has changed. It is no longer its task to build temples and choultries, or present shawls to pandits and musicians. It has no Gods and does not belong to any caste. The old system, however, did possess some good features. There was little unemployment and people generally were contented. The social system was intact and did not collapse as it it has done since then There was a liberal spirit of toleration. Arbitration was cheap, quick and useful in its results. The local commonwealths went on undisturbed by central changes, and the evils of centralisation and overgrown officialdom were absent. Peace, the bulk of the people always enjoyed as only the capital was affected by the invasions. Justice, as it was administered, the people were eminently satisfied with. They were not *ruled* as they are to-day, and they felt the presence of the central Government only through its usual taxes and occasional benefactions. There was no army of clerks and civil officials who constitute to-day the second line of defence. More officials would have meant

more corruption and oppression. For, accustomed to tyranny in every sphere of life, even petty officials played Deputy Providence to a peaceful people.

But it is as foolish to regret the passing of the old order as to feel sorry that we are aging. It happily coincided with the entry of the British Raj. From the palmy days of Chola Karikala down to the entry of the British Raj, except for about a couple of years in 1773-1775, the Tanjore country, the granary of the South, the abode of learning, the home of music, the mother of intellectual and intelligent sons and daughters, had been uninterruptedly a Hindu kingdom preserving the ancient culture and its symbols the temples, uninfluenced by Muslim or Christian contact down to the last century.

The Capital presents a gloomy aspect to the visitor and is a ghost of its former existence. At every turn, we are reminded of its former greatness, wealth and splendor and the vanity and evanascence of earthly empires. The fort and the big temple which carry our imagination back to Rajaraja Chola, and the *Madamaligai* and the *Guda gopuram* with the shadows of mediæval Nayaka and Maratha rule, leave on the mind a painful impression.

We have to judge the Maratha Rajas by the eighteenth century Indian standards. If in the sphere of foreign policy they were not forward and imperial, we must take into account the difficulties of their position. The period was one of decadence and disunion, and kings with ampler opportunities and larger resources did not fare better. Their predecessors, the Nayaks, were a quiet and loyal lot confined to their kingdom and the Marathas followed in their foot-steps. There was no divorce in that age of politics from religion. In fact, the royal *Dharma* was laid down by religion. It com-

prised, besides the guarantee of peace and justice and the levy of a small tax, patronage of temples and mutts, gifts to Brahmans and others for their learning and attainments, preservation of *varnashrama* and relief of poverty. No problems of popular education, sanitation and health taxed the ruler's brains for they were the concern of the people and the local agencies. The cry for constitutional liberty never troubled his conscience for the best of reasons that the idea was absent. A simple, light and equitable system of taxation has still to be evolved in India, so it was not a fault of the Maratha if he loaded the back of the land-holding camel to the breaking point.

The Nayaks and the Marathas declined when they swerved from the path of *Dharma* and could no longer safeguard it. Anandarangam Pillai says more than once that immorality, injustice and dishonor lead to the ruin of states. The great diarist has wonderfully grasped the moral foundations of the state which alone can support the superstructure of harmony which must prevail within and without it.

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ERRATA

Page.	Line.	
5	31	*Add* "in" *before* India
6	Authorities No. 10	*Read* "and from" *after* to
9	20	*Read* "of" *for* ot
11	2	*Read* "The Marathi inscription" *for* Bośala Vamsavali a Manuscript in Sanskrit
11	Footnote 1	*Delete* "1st footnote"
19	Footnote 4	*Read* "object" *for* bject
		Add "cat." *before* III
26	6	*Read* "Subah" *for* Subha
26	Footnote 1	*Read* "1302" *for* 1303
31	Footnote 4	*Add* "and" *after* 126
49	Footnote 2	*Remove* the parenthesis
52	1	*Delete* "1" *after* was
58	14	*Put* "the hyphen" *after* post
61	14	*Delete* "," *after* Sultan
74	Footnote 1	*Read* "Sattamuni" *for* Sattamani
74	Footnote 2	*Delete* "He erected, etc."
75	Head line	*Read* "1833" *for* 1843
82	Footnote 2	*Delete* "1922" *after* 11
92	25	*Add* "1" *after* trade
95	21	*Delete* "it" *after* as